

Pseudarchomastix:

Govern. Politics vol 2.
OR, A

CENSURE

ON SOME

MISTAKES

ABOUT

Civil Government.

*I also will shew my Opinion. For I am full of
Matter, the Spirit within me constrains me.
My Belly is ready to burst: I will speak, that
I may be refresh'd, Job xxxii. 17 — 20.*

L O N D O N:

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OF

CHURCH

OF

THE

OF

Civil Government



Pseudarchomastix.

C H A P. I.

The Introduction.

I Do not know of any one thing, which would sooner and more effectually suppress; or however much qualify, and lessen the various and endless Disputes; which Men have one with another, about almost every thing; than if they would seriously consider, how little they know, for certain, of those very Matters, which are the Subject of their difference: And that, in most Controversies, they do but dress up their Opinion in fine Words, and but support it with Probabilities; which may as well be done by their Adversaries, to prove the contrary Opinion, as by themselves to prove their own. For if they were once sensible of this plain Truth, they would allow others to abound in their sense, as they themselves do; would dispute little, either in Conversation or Writing; would be much better Company; and save themselves, and others too, a great deal of trouble and vexation of Spirit, occasioned by so much Writing and so much Reading.

We know little of natural Causes, and but as *Man knows* much of natural Effects, as is necessary for the *little of na-* use of Life; beyond this we are much in the *tural Cau-* dark; and after so many Ages search, Philoso-*ses.*

phers are but where they were at first : Much is conjectured and supposed ; but little or nothing proved, save what is practical, and found out by Experience.

The Sun ;

Of all the Creatures of this visible World, there is none that falls more under our Senses, than the Sun does ; and withal none more unknown to us, as to the precise Nature of it. Old Philosophy made of it a round piece of hot Iron : The modern will have it to be a great ball of inflamed Dust : Very lately an ingenious Writer is fallen into the old Opinion again : He who pleases may make it something else, and be as much in the right, for any thing any Man knows. He, in my Opinion, is the best Philosopher, who, letting the Nature of that noble Star alone, endeavours to enjoy the great Benefits of it ; by building, in this cold Climate, his Seat towards the South ; by plowing and sowing seasonably ; and (to use a familiar Proverb) by *making Hay while the Sun shines.*

The Wind ;

The Air, and the Wind, which is but the motion of it, are likewise daily breathed and felt by us all ; and the benefits of both, are as universal as the Sun's. And yet, if one examine the various Opinions of Philosophers, about the Nature and Causes of the latter ; one would be tempted to think, it blew not in this Country of ours, but only in *terrâ incognitâ* ; so repugnant they are one to another, and withal so precarious, and so very little proved. What shall a Man do then ? I would advise him to turn his House and his Garden, if he can, so as to be least exposed to those Winds which are cold, or tempestuous, or blasting ; to take *Dampier's* Book for his Companion and Guide in his Voyages ; and to let Philosophers dispute at home, about the Nature and Causes of the Wind, at their leisure.

I might

I might instance in other Particulars; the Sea *And others.* with its Flux and Reflux; the Motion of the Sun about the Earth, or of the Earth about the Sun; the Nature of Meteors, of subterranean Fires and Waters, and many more. But the two I have named, are enough to shew Man's Uncertainty in these things; and that, setting aside the use and benefit of Creatures, all his Decisions about them are but mere Conjectures, and his Definitions but vain Philosophy.

And, as in Nature, so in Religion, our Know- *In Religion,* ledge is much stinted, *we know but in part;* and *1 Cor. 13.* therefore can *prophecy* or teach others but *in part,* *He knows* as to Principles and Causes; tho' the Uses to be *but in part.* made of these, for our Salvation, as they are plainly pointed out to us in Scripture, are of very great extent, and fully sufficient to the attainment of it.

That there is a God, is as plain to a consi- *God.* dering Man, as that the Sun shines is to a Man that has Eye-sight. And, that God is infinite and all perfect, follows as plainly from his Existence, as, that two and two make four follows from the Nature and Proportion of Numbers. But when we come to examine farther into the Nature and Attributes of that infinite and all-perfect Being, our mind can discover nothing of them, but is perfectly dazzled and darkened by his unapproachable Light; as Men are in danger of being struck blind, by looking too directly and too long upon the Sun, when he shines in his strength. God's Eternity does amaze and astonish us; his Omnipotence does terrify and awe us; his Ubiquity or Omnipresence does quite swallow us up. And true Christian Philosophy in these Cases, is to admire and adore these at a distance; and, turning nearer to those milder Attributes, which no less than the former beautify and adorn him; I mean his Goodness, his

Mercy, his Holiness, and the like, endeavour to imitate them as much as we can ; and to be merciful as he is merciful, to be holy as he is holy.

Grace.

Acts 17.
28.

Psal. 135. 7.

Joh. 3. 8.

Phil. 2. 13.

Next to the Being of a God, nothing is more universally understood, and owned in the main, than the Necessity and Efficaciousness of his Grace ; *For in him we live, and move, and have our being ;* and can no more do good without his Assistance, than see without Light, or breathe without Air. And yet as to the precise Nature of it, how it works in us, the beginning, the progress, and the end of it ; these can no more be understood by us, than the Issues and Retreats of the Wind can be traced. And the same infinite Wisdom, which tells us, that God *brings the Wind out of his Treasures ;* and that the *Wind blows where it lists, and we hear the sound thereof, but cannot tell whence it comes and whither it goes ;* does also inform us, that *so is every one that is born of the Spirit, and that God works in us, both to will and to do, of his good pleasure.* One would think these plain Declarations of Scripture might have made Men quiet, as to inquiring into this matter too curiously. And yet there is hardly any Point of Divinity, that has bred more Disputes than this very Subject has done ; insomuch that whole Sects of Christians are occasioned by it, and divided about it. And they only are wise Christian Philosophers, who humbly own God's Grace to be the Principle of all Vertue in them ; and, instead of disputing or quarrelling about that so necessary, but so unsearchable Grace, do piously beg it upon their knees, and daily endeavour to use it, when obtained : And, if they can but be saved by it, are little solicitous to know when, and where, how, and in what measure it was given them.

The Trinity,
&c.

The Trinity of Persons, in the Unity of Nature, in God ; the Incarnation of our blessed Saviour,

viour ; and his satisfying for Men, or dying in their room ; are Doctrines plainly revealed in Scripture, and therefore to be firmly believed. But they can no more be comprehended by us, than the depths of the Sea sounded, or the breadths of Gulphs waded ; and such Knowledge is too wonderful and too high for us to attain to it. Yet human Curiosity and Inquisitiveness will not forbear to attempt to pry into these Secrets ; and has produced more Heresies about them, than about all other Articles of Religion put together. What shall we say to these things ? That happy and wise are they who humbly and modestly believe and adore them ; and, contented with a general apprehension of them in this World, do not dispute or decide concerning them, nor expect to be farther informed about them, till they come into another.

I need not give any more Instances in this matter. The few I have named are sufficient to convince us, how narrow and scanty our Knowledge is, in Points of speculative Religion, on this side the Grave.

Neither is it necessary to enlarge any farther upon other general Heads ; and to shew, how little we know in any one Art or Science, farther than for the Necessities and Conveniencies of Life ; what Improvements are daily made in Building, Agriculture, Manufactures, Physick, Navigation, and many other Sciences and Arts. How many old and useful Inventions are daily set aside, neglected, and in time quite lost ; how many new ones come up in their places, nay how many old and obsolete ones are again taken up and followed, to make a kind of a Circulation, and to renew, as it were, the outward Face of the Universe.

What I have said is enough to convince Man, how short his Knowledge here below is ; to make

him humble and quiet, as to Opinions and Disputes ; and to oblige him to lay down that dictating and decisive Spirit of Pride and Contradiction, which does so much reign in the World, especially in this present Age.

Civil Government in Nature;

Civil Government seems to be of a mix'd Nature, and to partake of the two things I have been mentioning, as Instances of the shortness of Man's Knowledge. All Nations, in all Ages, even the most savage and most destitute of Humanity, have entertained some kind of Order and Government amongst them ; and it appears thereby, that the very Light of Nature, or common Sense and Reason, did prompt them to it. And, how coarse and imperfect soever the Rules of Government amongst some of them might be ; yet they were, however, in some measure answerable to the Design of them, and did something contribute to their Security and Quiet, their Ease and Plenty, if not to their Pleasure, Glory, Greatness, and Riches : Tho', at the same time, they might be as different, as to their particular Form and Method, as the Climates and Countries were, where the People lived, that submitted to them. And farther, every Nation was well contented with their own Constitutions ; and would have wondered, had any private Man pretended to dispute or decide about any of them, as any ways to be blamed ; each of them seeming, to those who lived under them, to be best, and best to answer the Ends for which they were constituted and ordained.

By God's Institution formerly ;

On the other side, the Scripture does inform us, how God, at certain times interposed, in this matter, especially in the Times of the Patriarchs, the *Israelites*, and the Jews ; and, by prescribing to them particular Forms and Rules of Government, put them into a better way than other Nations were.

Hence

Hence proceeded first the Patriarchal Government ; then the Commonwealth or Republick of *Israel*, under a General or a Judge ; and afterwards, after some Eclipses and, as it were, Inter-regnums, the Kingdom of the Jews, the best constituted of any in the World ; and one of the greatest, and sometime most formidable, of any that were in those days. The History of their Kings, recorded at length in some of the Books of the old Testament, is a sufficient proof of their Greatness. And in many Places of those very Books, as well as of those others, writ before and after, which all together make up the Canon of the old Testament, there are most admirable and divine Rules given by God, both to Kings and People, how they might make their Civil Government honourable, safe, and advantageous ; how Kings might rule, and yet be loved by their Subjects ; how Subjects might submit, and yet bear Love to their Prince.

Our Saviour coming into the World, found *Under the* the Civil Government of the Jews at an end, and *Gospel now.* the *Romans* their Sovereigns, as the *Assyrians*, the *Babylonians*, or *Chaldeans*, the *Persians*, and the *Greeks* had formerly been. And his Design being to set up not a Temporal, but a Spiritual Kingdom, he left things as he found them, as to Civil Government ; and neither he, in his Lifetime, nor his Apostles after him, did at all order, or determine any thing about the manner in which Christians should particularly be ruled in Civil Matters ; only in general they gave them Rules of Obedience to those Civil Powers, which they might in several Places, and at several Times, live under ; particularly to the *Roman* Emperors, who governed in those Days, tho', by Religion, Heathens, and, as to Morals, the worst Princes that ever reigned.

In

As to Generals,

In those Rules given in Scripture by God and our Saviour, in the Old and New Testament, concerning the general Measures of Civil Obedience to Magistrates, enough is said to make all Princes good and just, and all Subjects easy and quiet, if they would but attentively read and examine them, and as religiously follow them. No King can bear sway so nobly, and withal so gently, as a Jewish King formerly might, and a Christian King now may, that rules according to the Scripture-directions. And no Subjects can so easily bear Subjection, and so chearfully honour and obey their King, as Jews formerly, or Christians now, who submit and obey by the Scripture-Rules. But neither of them must expect to be universally informed in Scripture, as to Civil Government; and to be able, from that sacred Book, to answer all Questions about Civil Rights, or decide all Cases concerning Politicks.

Not as to Particulars,

As before, in the State of Nature, and when Men were destitute of Revelation, Reason, tho' it might suggest Order and Government in general, for the Quiet and Ease of Mankind; yet could not give Directions at once, for all Times and all Places, for all Men and all Occurrences; but left Particulars to be severally considered and settled, as Time, Place, and Occasion should serve. Even so God Almighty was pleased to give in Scripture general Rules, both to Governours and Subjects; by keeping to which they might live pleased and secure, and Mankind every where enjoy Quiet and Rest. But he did not think fit to descend to Particulars, but past them in silence and undecided; and left them to be settled severally here and there in the World, as natural Reason and Christian Prudence should for the time suggest. And therefore it is the Duty of all Christians to follow the Scripture-rules, as to Civil Government, so far as they go: But beyond

yond that they must let things alone ; never dare to make the Scripture say what it says not ; and, in Cases untouch'd and undecided in that sacred Book, must provide for themselves the best they can ; only with this condition always, that nothing be done contrary to Reason or Religion.

Numerous Examples might be given of Cases *Which are undecided.* concerning Civil Government, not mentioned at all in Scripture ; and not possible therefore to be decided and settled every where, and at all times in the same manner : In which, by consequence, great Latitude and Difference may take place ; and about which Disputes and peremptory Decisions should be very few, if any at all. For Politicks have this one thing common with Religion, that they are a practical Discipline, in which Speculation ought not to be much indulged. And yet I don't know how it comes to pass, that more is writ and disputed about mere Speculations in both, than in any other Art or Science. To shew Men their Vanity in this Point, I will give a few Instances, among many more, of those things relating to Civil Government, in which both Scripture and Reason are silent ; which therefore cannot be readily and uniformly decided and settled, and about which Disputants and Writers should be very sparing, if not altogether silent.

The Patriarchal Scheme pleases some Men won- *The Patri- archal Scheme.* derfully, whilst others have as great an aversion to it, and would have Government to be a mere human Invention, and a perfect Creature of the People : The first intrench themselves under the Primitive Times ; and the latter take the Original Contract for their Shield and Buckler. But they are both too peremptory, and too universal. For, first, nothing is more plain, than that Fathers and Patriarchs did at first civilly rule in Families and Kindreds. Not only the Account, which *Moses* gives of the Patriarchs till his

own time, bears witness to this ; but even *Cæsar's* Relation of the *Gauls* and *Britains*, shews that they were, in his days, made up of so many great Families or Kindreds, over which the first Founder of them seems to have ruled, and given them his or some other Name ; till growing too large and too numerous for such a way of Government, they, of their own accord, or by some Accident or other Motive, set up a Governour of another sort, as best suited their present Circumstances. And we are informed by Travellers, that in some Parts of *South-East Africk*, a sort of poor and savage People are still ruled thus at this day.

Magistrates made by the People, and otherwise.

And on the other side, it is as plain, that several thousand Years ago, in many Countries, even among the Jews, there were Rulers which were no Patriarchs : That in others, Rulers were often made and created by the People, and had more or less Power given, and Time allowed them to rule and govern, as among the old *Greeks* and *Romans*. That other Rulers made themselves so by their own Power and Sword, and founded great Empires, and left them to their Children after them. That others again were such, tho' the very beginning and first rise of their Power could hardly be traced out. And, without all doubt, most of the Kingdoms and Republicks of the World, at this day, owe their Being and Form to one of the last mentioned Ways and Manners ; and not to the now obsolete Patriarchal Institution and Custom.

Monarchy of many sorts.

The Patriarchal Way being the first, seems to plead in favour of Monarchy ; and accordingly not a few do commend that sort of Government, and look on all others as deviations from the Primitive Standard. And yet many Monarchies, (nay the very first we read of in Scripture, that of *Nimrod*) owing their Original to Force and Conquest,

Gen. 10. 8--
12.

Conquest, seem to be as great deviations from the first Institution. And the very Emperors and Kings made by the People do very much deviate from it.

And, on the other side, it would be hard, and even unreasonable to condemn, as unlawful, all *Commonwealths*, whether Aristocratical or Democratical; those many in *Greece* formerly; that of old *Rome*; that of latter *Venice*; and last of all, those sprung up in our Father's Days; the *United Provinces* of the *Netherlands*, *Geneva*, the *Swissers*, the *Grisons*, and some others. Nothing can be said, with Reason, for or against either a *Successive*, or an *Elective Kingdom* or *Empire*, exclusive of the other sort; and we see of both kinds in *Europe*; and even some altered from the one way into the other. And tho' in one of the greatest of the *Successive* way, Males alone reign, tho' never so remote in Blood, for want of nearer Male-issue, to the prejudice and postponing of the nearer Females: yet all true *Britains* ought to approve the different Custom which obtains in this Kingdom; and heartily thank God, that one of their Queens in the last Age was the great Promoter of the Reformation, and the Breaker of the then intended Universal Monarchy over all *Europe*. And that another is now the Support and Bulwark of the Protestant Cause, and the Terror of all Pretenders and Designers, both at home and abroad.

One thing more I would say upon this Head, and that is, that if some Eastern Islands are governed only by Princesses, and all Males excluded from the Throne, as we are told by Travellers they are: no Reason can be given against such a Custom, in such a Place; and many may possibly be given for it by those that follow and use it.

All these allowable.

The Result and Design of this Introduction, is to make Men open their Eyes wide, and look far and nigh about them; and when they have done so, and found things as I have fairly represented them, keep silence in politick Affairs; not be wedded to this or that Opinion in problematical Matters, which may as well be decided this, as that way; speak for or against no sort of Government, exclusively to others; avoid all Disputes in such Matters, both in writing and speaking; approve most that sort of Government under which they live; Successive Monarchy in this noble Kingdom; and quietly and peaceably submit to it, love, honour, and obey it.

But the greatest of Men's Heats, and bandying Opinions one against another, is not about those Points I have named: one more knotty and more tough than all the rest remains still behind, as little decided and settled, either by Reason or Scripture, as any of the former; and which notwithstanding is more readily and rashly treated of and decided, than any other, by the Disputants of the Age: Two of which, among the rest, have appeared in our Days; bold Champions indeed, *pushing* one at another, and *running* one against another, *close in the Fury of their Power*, as the two first Beasts in the Vision of Daniel.

The Case of Self defence and Resistance,

I mean the famous Case of Tyranny in the Prince, and Extremity and Despair in the Subject. When the first shall attempt to act arbitrarily, both against Reason, and Scripture, and the express Laws of the Land: And the other, notwithstanding all his Applications and Suits for Redress, all his Peaceableness and Long-suffering, all his Prayers and Supplications to the Sovereign; for all his Addresses and Remonstrances, his Tears and Cries, and begging and importuning, shall yet be driven to Extremity, and be upon

upon the brink of Danger and utter Ruin, and see himself ready to be deprived of his Liberty and Property, of his Estate and Laws, and of what is dearer to him than all this, of his spiritual Liberty and Religion.

This is so difficult and so lamentable a Case, *Unnecessarily and rashly moved at this time.* that of all Cases one would think it should not be lightly and unnecessarily supposed; and, if unfortunately happening, should not be decided either from Reason or Scripture, but on very sure and good grounds, and by substantial Arguments and Reasons. And yet we see and hear it daily supposed, under the most unenvy'd, the most gracious, and mildest of Reigns, without so much as the least shadow or appearance of Reason: And nevertheless, as eagerly argued *pro* and *con*, as if her Majesty, at the Head of an Army, was at our Gates ready to invade and subdue us; as *Titus* did Old *Jerusalem*, or *Annibal* was like to have done Old *Rome*. This, of all things, shews the Rashness of Man, the Vanity of his purblind Reason, the Levity of his Enquiries and Opinions, and the Emptiness of his Arguments and Ratiocinations.

After this severe Invective, which my real and *This Discourse not about it;* deep Concern for Church and State has forced from me, contrary to my natural Temper, which is more for mending my own Faults, than finding those of others; and from which nothing but *Hunger and Thirst after Righteousness* could *Math. 5.6.* have obliged me to depart. After this, I say, it will not be expected, that I should in the following Discourse undertake to act the Politician, and to decide any of the mentioned Questions, or give my Opinion about any of them. I have already declared my hearty Approbation of the Monarchical Government in this Nation. And, as for the rest, if all Subjects were of my Temper and Disposition, the Press would not so often groan under

under the burden of unnecessary, insignificant, and often dangerous and seditious Pamphlets; and the private Discourses of Neighbours would be more innocent and more harmless, because less meddling with State Affairs, and disputing about them, which they often understand little or not at all, in which, for the most part, they are little or nothing concerned.

*But about
the Sense of
Scripture
concerning
Civil Go-
vernment.*

My only Design in writing this, is calmly, sedately, and impartially to declare, and publish what I find clearly set down and determined in Scripture, about Civil Government; and to persuade Men, if I can, to stop where that sacred Book does, and to be very cautious in inquiring and deciding any farther. This I will do, with a particular regard to the Constitution of this Kingdom of *Great Britain*, which seems to bear a lively resemblance to those, under which the greatest part of the Old Testament, and the whole New were written. For our Kings and Queens are anointed, and sacred by the Law of the Land, as the Jewish Kings were formerly: And their Crown is an Imperial Crown, as was the *Roman*, under the first Emperors: And their Government much like that of the *Roman* Empire, in that the Laws are made and administered jointly by the Sovereign, and the Senate, each of them having therein their just and balancing share.

*The Au-
thor's Im-
partiality.*

And my Design not being to find fault with other sorts of Government, or in the least to reflect upon them; but only to make Men quiet under this, if I can, I hope the Reader will easily forgive me, if I say any thing which may perhaps not be altogether to his liking. I shall steer equally and steadily between Extremes; and if either side, or perhaps both, be any ways offended, it will not be my fault, as it cannot be that of Truth; and, I hope, the Scripture will

will bear me out, tho' I speak home, and do not spare.

In order to this, I will first set down the chief *Division of* Places of the New Testament, in which mention *the follow-* is made of Civil Government; and do what I *ing Dis-* can, to give the full and plain sense of them. *course.* Then draw from those Places some fundamental Rules belonging, and applicable to all Civil Governments. And lastly consider, how far the Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, gives Light into the difficult Case last mentioned; and may, by its Declarations or Silence about it, help us, either to keep it from us, or, however, to get out of it, without offending God, our Religion, or our Sovereign, if ever it should please God to make it our Lot, that it should happen to us.

C H A P. II.

The First Part of the Discourse.

AS to the first, our blessed Saviour has writ nothing himself; but, in his Life written by the Evangelists, we find him speaking, chiefly twice about Civil Government; and what he said then, is the Source or Spring-head out of which all that his Apostles writ about it, upon occasion afterwards, is taken and drawn out. Thus, long before, *Socrates* the wisest of Heathenish Philosophers, writ nothing himself; and yet, by what he said in his Life-time, left the Seeds and Grounds of the Platonick Sect, the best and most Christian-like of any.

The first thing which Christ said about Civil Government, was in answer to the insidious Question put to him by the Pharisees and *Herodians*, *Places of the New Testament about Civil Government.*

dians, about the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of their paying Tribute to the Roman Emperor. *Matth. 22. Render, said he, to Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.* The second time he spoke about it, was in his friendly and noble Reprimand to *Pilate the Roman Governour*; when, after many Questions more to the purpose, he ask'd him a trifling one, *Whence art thou?* And, upon Christ's giving him no Answer, told him, he wonder'd that he did not speak to him; for he had Power to crucify him, and to *Joh. 19. 11. release him.* Thou could'st have no Power at all against me, said our Saviour to him, except it were given thee from above. These two Places are general and clear, and need no Commentary to explain them.

1 Pet. 2. 16. St. Peter and St. Jude make mention, in their Epistles, of some Sectaries in their Days, who

Jud. 4. used their Liberty for a cloak of Maliciousness; turned the Grace of God into Lasciviousness; and, a-

2 Pet. 2. 10. mong other lewd Doctrines and Practices, despised

Jud. 8. Government, rejected Dominion, and spoke evil of Dignities. These Words give rational grounds

to believe, that those false Teachers and impure

Livers, among many other pernicious Errors, abused the Doctrine of Grace and Christian Liberty,

against Civil Governours; and, carrying their Mistakes farther than the Jews (who were

generally averse to the Roman Yoke, because the Emperors were Heathens, and not Jews) set a-

side, and wholly rejected Civil Government; thought that it was absolutely unlawful for Christians

to submit to any, besides that of Christ; and, under that Pretence, spoke ill of Civil Magistrates of all sorts. Thus have we seen, in our

Days, whole Sects of Christians, who own no other King but Jesus; and who refusing Subjection even to Christian Magistrates, hold it un-

lawful

lawful for any Christian to bear Civil Rule over another.

St. Paul, who knew this, as well as St. Peter and St. Jude, gives warning in his Epistles against these Seducers, and does what in him lies, to set Christians right in this matter. He exhorts ^{1 Tim. 2.} Timothy, that first of all Supplications, Prayers, ^{1, 2, 3.} Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, for Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that the then Christians might lead a quiet and a peaceable Life, in all Godliness and Honesty; for this, says he, is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour. He charges Titus, to put those ^{Tit. 3. 1.} under him in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magistrates, and to be ready to every good Work. And more largely and particularly he writes thus to the Romans: Let every ^{Rom. 13.} Soul be subject unto the higher Powers: For there is ^{1 — 7.} no Power but of God; the Powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation. For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: For he is the Minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he bears not the Sword in vain; for he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath upon him that does evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience-sake. For, for this cause pay you Tribute also; for they are God's Ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour.

And St. Peter, much to the same purpose, in another place addresses in these words the Eastern

1 Pet. 2. 13—17. Christians of his Days. Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be the King as Supreme; or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well: For so is the Will of God, that with well doing you may put to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men. As free, and not using your Liberty for a cloak of Maliciousness; but as the Servants of God. Honour all Men, love the Brotherhood, fear God; honour the King.

Explained. To find out the right sense of all these Places, I think it highly reasonable to explain the one by the other: (The Apostles who writ them, living at the same time, being inspired by the same Spirit, and having the same false Teachers and Hereticks to oppose, and warn the then Christians against) especially St. Peter in one place, by St. Peter in another. And whosoever thus prepared, and rationally disposed in mind, reads attentively the last quoted Places of St. Peter and St. Paul, will easily perceive, that they aim at the same thing, and are written to the same purpose with that of St. Jude, and that of St. Peter first quoted. Only St. Peter names Governours sent by the King, as well as the King himself as Supreme; because he writes to those Christians, that lived far from Rome, and were governed by Deputies in the Emperor's Name. Whereas St. Paul, writing to the Inhabitants of Rome in particular, names only the Higher Powers; meaning the Emperor, who made his Residence at Rome. And farther, whereas St. Paul affirms Higher Powers to be of God; to be ordained of God; to be the Ordinance of God; St. Peter calls both the King or Emperor, and his Governours, the Ordinance of Man: not in opposition to St. Paul, or to our Saviour, who expressly tells Pilate, that he had his Power from above; but either, because sometimes

times Magistrates are made and chosen by *Men*, as the *Roman* ones were of old ; and in Elective Kingdoms, and some Commonwealths, they are to this day ; or because they belong to *Men*, and were *ordained of God*, for *Men's* Use and Advantage.

But, in the main, the two Apostles, *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*, had the same Men and Errors before their Eyes, which *St. Jude* had, in both places, when they writ their Epistles. *St. Jude* charges those Seducers and *ungodly Men* with being crept in unawares, turning the Grace of God Jud. 4. into Lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God, and our Lord *Jesus Christ*. And *St. Peter* calls them false Teachers, who privily brought in dam- 2 Pet. 2. 1. nable Heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them : And intimates in the first quoted place, that they abused their Christian Liberty or Free- 1 Pet. 2. 16. dom, for a cloak of Maliciousness. Which Expressions are visibly to the same sense, and mark out the same false Teachers.

And as for *St. Paul*, he does in many places of Rom. 6. 1, his Epistles argue against them, that abused the 7, 15, 18. Grace of God, and their Christian Liberty to sin ; 8. 2. as if the Gospel had freed Men from their Obligation to Vertue and good living, as well as from the Law of *Moses* : Whereas, quite contrary, the Design of that gracious Religion, was, chiefly, to free them from Sin. And in the Tit. 2. 12. Place to the *Romans*, he calls resisting or opposing Rom. 13. 1. the Power, what *St. Peter* and *St. Jude* call despising Dominion, or rejecting Government ; for no other Resistance was made then ; that in question now a-days was not so much as thought on. And as *St. Peter* would have the Christians of his time to honour the King, instead of speaking evil of Dignities, and despising Dominion ; so does *St. Paul* charge the *Romans*, to render Honour to whom Honour is due ; meaning, no doubt, those very

Powers, to whom he had before commanded them to be *subject*. And by enjoining *every Soul* to be *subject to the higher Powers*, he visibly includes Christians, as well as Heathens, or Jews; contrary to the Error of those Hereticks, who taught, that Christians were freed by Christ from Obedience to Civil Magistrates, tho' other Men might still be subject to them. And by telling them, they *must needs be subject for Conscience sake*, he tacitly shews, that those *false Teachers* pleaded *Conscience* and *Religion*, for their pretended Freedom and Immunity from *Subjection* to the Civil Magistrate.

Those Words of St. Paul, *every Soul*, are generally press'd against the Pope, and against the *Romish* Clergy, as to their pretended Exemption from Submission to Civil Powers. But they were levelled, by the Apostle, at other Persons, even the false Teachers of those Days, so lively described by St. Peter and St. Jude, who pleaded Immunity from Civil Obedience, on the account of their being Christians. It is true, those famous Words reach as well now the Pope, and his Clergy, as they did then those Hereticks; because their Error, and pretended Exemption from Civil Obedience, is much of the same nature. So do they also reach Fifth-Monarchymen; and those Anabaptists and Quakers, who follow their Errors, in denying Obedience to Civil Powers; nay, looking on them as absolutely unlawful.

Freed from
Misinter-
pretations.

These things being so, it is plain, that those Places of the New Testament which I have quoted; especially the Place of St. Paul, *Rom. 13. 1.* and that of St. Peter, *1 Pet. 2. 13.* are often wrested and drawn aside, this way and that way, to serve Men's Turns, in their Mistakes and frivolous Disputes about Civil Government: whilst the genuine Sense and Design of them is past over

over unregarded. Some do threaten, at every turn, with eternal Damnation all Persons whatsoever, who shall use any means, in any Case whatsoever, to get Ease, even under arbitrary Powers, and tyrannical Princes, backing demonstratively, as they think, this Menace of theirs, by St. Paul's Expressions; *Whosoever resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation: And ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake.* And yet that sort of *Resistance* they mean, namely to tyrannical Princes, was not at all in St. Paul's Mind; but one of a very different Nature, even an absolute and total *Rejection* of all Civil Powers. Others point-blank, opposite to the former, do perpetually urge St. Peter's Expression, who calls Kings, and their Governours, *the Ordinance of Man*: As if Civil Magistrates, of all sorts, were human Institutions, and the Creatures of the People; and might, consequently, be set up, and put down, apprehended, examined, tried, judged, condemned, and put to death, by the Justice, or rather Injustice of the People: And, as if all arbitrary and tyrannical Power was a crying Sin in Magistrates only; but the inherent natural Right of Subjects. And yet I have clearly shewed, that St. Peter's Expression does not contradict St. Paul's, who calls the Higher Powers the *Ordinance of God*; or our Saviour's, who tells *Pilate*, he had his *Power from above*. The *Quinquennium Neronis* is taken hold of by others, to evade St. Paul's dreaded Expressions (tho', in truth, they are harmless, as well as St. Peter's, to either Party, as to the Case in question). They own that good Princes, such as *Nero* was, when St. Paul writ to the *Romans*, ought not to be resisted upon pain of *Damnation*: But as for wicked Princes and Tyrants, they think St. Paul does not in-

clude them ; and that therefore they may be resisted, notwithstanding the Severity of his Threat. But it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to prove that St. *Paul* writ his Epistle to the *Romans* in *Nero's* first five Years : And much more, to shew, that St. *Peter*, who speaks much to the same purpose, writ his first Epistle within the same Period of Time : And tho' both could be proved, yet all would not avail ; because our Saviour, who lived under *Tiberius*, a very ill Prince from first to last, speaks also to the same purpose ; or rather gives the Text, of which his Apostles are but Expositors. We are frequently murthered with *another to the same*, and told by new refined Politicians, that St. *Paul* writ under a heathenish Government, the Religion of which was settled by the Law of the Land ; and that Christians, who had no Toleration for theirs, might therefore not resist : But that in a Christian Kingdom it is far otherwise ; That Christianity being by Law establish'd, if the Prince shall attempt, contrary to Law, to alter it, he may lawfully be resisted — and a deal more to the same purpose. I wonder they do not offer to prove, that the Prince may be *resisted*, because St. *Paul* forbids to *resist* him : Or obtrude upon the World with the Author of a late printed Speech, that at the Reformation they came every where to say, that *Kings had their Powers from God* ; whereas in the Times of Popery, it was a Tenet, that they held their Crowns of the Church, and at the Pope's Mercy. For St. *Paul*, who writ long before, either the Reformation, or even the Papal Power, says *in terminis*, that *there is no Power but of God* ; That *Powers are ordained of God, and the Ordinance of God*. And the Kings of *France*, no Favourers to the Reformation, do, as well as Protestant Princes, stile themselves Kings, not by the Pope's Mercy, but *by the Grace*
of

of God; which is fully equivalent to St. Paul's Expression, and plainly overthrows the Assertion of that Speaker. What will not Men say, to support their Opinions, whatever they are; instead of examining more narrowly, both their Opinions, and the Arguments they support them withal; and calling to help this Christian Maxim, to assist them in getting rid of Difficulties; that it is far better and nobler, to own and retract a Mistake, than to persist in it, out of a pretended Point of Honour. They ought, however, in doubtful Cases, not clearly decided in Scripture, to let the Scripture alone, which has done them no harm, nor any ways incurred their Displeasure, so as it should deserve to be thus by them wrested: And setting aside their Enquiries, honestly and frankly to own their Ignorance; to be quiet themselves; and to let the Publick be so too: Instead of disputing and arguing, about unknown things, and using nothing but Suppositions, Probabilities, and precarious or false Reasons.

For my part, I am far from going about, to decide any such Matters and Questions. I am labouring quite the contrary way; and I would fain persuade Men, to give over writing and disputing about them, especially from these Places of Scripture. For, whoever shall impartially consider the Circumstances of the Church in those Days; and what pernicious Errors were, even so early, sprung up, particularly about Grace and Christian Liberty; and the enormous Licenses, which those Hereticks took, both in their Teaching and Living: Especially their refusing Obedience to Civil Magistrates, their wholly *rejecting* and setting them aside; their *despising* them and *speaking ill* of them, which they are expressly charged with by St. Peter and St. Jude; instead of *submitting* to them, as St. Peter would have them;

them ; and instead of *being subject to them*, of *obeying them*, and *praying for them*, as St. Paul positively commands them to do. Whoever, I say, shall seriously consider these things without any Prepossession ; and will but carry his mind back to those early Times, and the then Christian Countries ; and forget, for a while, the Times and Places he lives in ; and their Circumstances, both in Church and State ; and shall then, as fairly and impartially compare Things and Questions : will easily see, that, if we except the Errors of Fifth-Monarchy-men, and their Followers ; and those of the Pope, and his Clergy ; which are much of the same Nature, with those of the then Hereticks ; other Questions about Civil Government, are not, at all, touch'd or named in these Places of Scripture. And more particularly, that the Case of Resistance or Non-resistance to Higher Powers, as it is, at this time, stated ; that is, only under arbitrary Powers, and tyrannical Princes ; does differ *toto cælo* from that in the Apostles Days. The one being about the utter Unlawfulness of Christian Magistrates, and the Obedience paid to them, on any account whatsoever. And the other owning the Lawfulness of both in general ; and only disputing about the degrees of Prerogative in the Prince, and of Liberty and Property in the Subject : And inquiring, what Remedy may be had, in case either be incroach'd upon, or attempted, by the other.

These Things neither Christ, nor his Apostles had in their Eye, nor have, in the least, decided ; or so much as named : But have left them, wholly, to human Prudence, and the several Constitutions, of the several Kingdoms and Republicks in the World ; to be, as Time and Place, and other Circumstances could best direct, severally settled and establish'd, altered and changed ;

changed; redress'd, corrected, and amended, by the Laws of every People and Nation: without any other Guide in so doing, than Reason and Religion in general, against which nothing, in any Cases, ought to be done, or attempted.

And thus, in Church-Government, Christ has settled but some main things; the different Orders of his Ministers, and their several Powers: The Submission due to them, by their Flocks; the Communion of all Christians; their Unity in Faith and Christian Love, &c. leaving it to his Church, in succeeding Ages, to establish severally, in several Countries, the outward Rites, Discipline, and Face of it; as they should, in Christian Prudence, think most fitting, and most tending to Edification.

But we must not too much wonder, that these few Places of Scripture should be misapplied, in politick Cases; and that every one should draw them to his side: when we see a whole Book of it, the Revelation of St. *John*, to be daily made a Property, by the Interpreters of it; every one being willing that the Prophecies of that Book should be fulfilled in his Time, in his Country, and to his Humour; and accordingly applying them, as he thinks, most agreeable to his Scheme, without ever so much as considering the Times, in which it was written; how few in number the poor orthodox Christians were in those Days; how malicious, against them, the Jews and the Judaizing Christians; how potent and cruel the Heathens, in the midst of whom they lived: And that it is highly reasonable to think, that the Spirit of God, rather had a regard to those formidable and inveterate Enemies, and foretold their Destruction, after the various Sufferings and Persecutions of the Primitive and Infant-Church; than to things, far more remote from those early Days, and far less considerable. But it

*And by the
by the Re-
velation of
St. John.*

it is enough that these Interpreters have visibly been mistaken hitherto; especially within these hundred Years last past; and sober Men will hardly, for that reason, give any credit, for the future, to any, that might afresh entertain the Publick with his Interpretations, of that difficult and obscure Book.

C H A P. III.

The Second Part of the Discourse.

HAVING thus given the true and genuine Sense of the chief Places of the New Testament, in which mention is made of Civil Government in general. I come, in the second place, to draw from them, some fundamental Rules belonging to every particular Civil Government, and equally applicable to them all. For tho', neither Christ, nor his Apostles did, in the least, descend to Particulars; but left them as they found them; because they were the work of Men, and might be framed and modelled, severally, by human Prudence: yet the Generals, being the Work of God and unalterable, and to be the same, at all Times, in all Places, and under all Circumstances; they thought fit and necessary, we should be distinctly informed about them, as we are of other Christian Doctrines, and Christian Duties.

First general Rule about Civil Government, It is from God, not from Man;

The first of these fundamental Rules is, that Civil Government is from God, and ordained or instituted by him; and not contrived, invented, or set up, at pleasure, by the People. Our Saviour tells *Pilate* in express Terms, that his Power was given him from above, tho' he had it by Commission, from *Tiberius* the then Emperor. And,

And, if *that* did not make *Pilate* to have his Power from Man; the Man that gave it could not be the Original of it, neither in himself, nor in his Deputy; but both had it from God; the Emperor more immediately; and the Deputy more mediately, thro' the Emperor's Favour. And had the *Romans* chosen *Tiberius*, as freely, as they did their chief Magistrates, in the Times of their Commonwealth; his Power had, for all that, been from God, not from them; notwithstanding their Choice and free Election.

Nero, one of the following Emperors, had the very same Power which *Tiberius* had before; and yet *St. Paul*, who lived in his time, says, that he was *ordained of God*; calls him *the Ordinance of God*, and *the Minister of God*. And, by universally affirming, that *there is no Power but of God*, he does peremptorily bar any Man or Men, Prince and Subjects, King and People, from having any hand at all, in ordaining and instituting Civil Government. And tho' *St. Peter*, as I observed, calls both *Kings* and their *Governours* *the Ordinance of Man*; yet they are both, for all that, *the Ordinance of God* in the first place. Men may chuse their Kings and Governours, it is true, and often do, as in Elective Kingdoms and Commonwealths: And might chuse their supreme Magistrate, according to Christian Prudence, even where the Kingdom is Successive, if it should happen that the whole Royal Family were extinct. The very common People might chuse him, on Supposition the Nobles and the Senate were also all dead: which Supposition, tho' wild, and but barely possible, does not at all prejudice this fundamental Rule, that all Civil Power is from God; and therefore shall be made, by my free consent, by any Man that pleases. Let it even be supposed, that a number of Men, in a Ship, are cast away on an unknown uninhabited

Even in popular Elections;

Even in the utmost case of them.

bited place ; all independent one from another ; no way related one to another ; and, consequently free, and ungoverned on all accounts. In such a case, they might, no doubt, frame themselves, into some Community, and chuse a Magistrate or Magistrates out of the multitude, as they could agree among themselves. But even in this utmost Case (which, yet, is so strongly and confidently urged by some People) this very *Ordinance of Man*, would, for all that, be *the Ordinance of God* ; and all the Civil Power of such Magistrates be *of God* ; since St. Paul says, there is *no such Power but of God*. God, it is true, could not be said to chuse such Magistrates immediately, as he did *Moses*, *Joshuah*, and *David* ; but their *Power* would still be as much *from God*, in the main, as *Moses's*, *Joshuah's*, and *David's* Power was.

Power of
Life and
Death,

The essential and fundamental Power of any Magistrate or Ruler, when he is *supreme*, or a *higher Power*, is, certainly, to *punish evil doers*, and to be *a Revenger upon him that does evil* ; and this, not only with lesser Punishments, but with the capital one, the loss of Life, which is the utmost that Men, in their Civil Capacity, can lose. This was expressly allowed and given, by God, to *Moses*, to *Joshuah*, to the Judges, and to the Kings of the Jews ; and exercised by them upon occasion ; and no Man denies it to supreme Magistrates now, of what sort soever. But this

Not in Man.

Power is so far from being given by Man ; that Man has it not even in his own Case ; no, not tho' he were left alone, by himself, in the World, as *Adam* once lived alone in it. No Man has Power over his own Life ; no Man can lawfully kill himself, no, not for the very greatest Crime. Suppose he has committed the most heinous Sin ; he may, indeed, humble himself for it before God ; and punish himself by Fasting

and Labour, by Watching, by Stripes, by Solitude and Darknes; and by what else he shall think fit, in order to move God to forgive him. But, still, his Life excepted, which having received from God, on condition of preserving it for his Service; he cannot deprive himself of it, but by God's special Command; without being a *Felo de se*, and guilty of the worst of Murthers. And if no Man has Power over his own Life, much less has he any, over the Life of another, even his own Child, or *Slave*. For, tho' ^{Exod. 21. 20.} in some Heathenish Countries, formerly, Fathers and Masters had it allowed them, by the Law of the Land; such Rights, tho' without the reach of Civil Punishment; yet, put in execution, would be reckoned, among Christians, perfect Murthers. And if Man has no such Right himself; sure, he cannot give or transfer it to others; no, not to any Magistrate or Magistrates. And, were it not, that they act in God's Name, and ^{But in God alone.} by his Order and Commission; all Executions, tho' never so much according to Law, to the Law of the Land, would be no better than so many formal and pompous Murthers. They are *Revengeurs*, says St. Paul: But *Vengeance* be- ^{Deut. 32. 35.} longing solely to God; they must be so, by his Commission whose *Vengeance* is; and with- ^{Psal. 94. 1. Rom. 12. 19.} out it no Man could *avenge*, either himself or others. ^{Heb. 10. 30. Given by God}

Whether God did first give this Power of Life and Death, over Criminals, to *Noah*; and instituted the first Civil Magistrates, only after the Flood, is not very material to inquire or decide; since there remains none of the ante-diluvian Families; and Civil Government is fully settled now, all the World over. But this is certain, that whatever lawful Executions, by putting Criminals to death, were ever made, they who directed and ordered them, had, *from God*, their
Power

Power for so doing. Therefore, even in the most popular Elections, tho' the Man is chosen by the People, yet the Magistrate is, most certainly, *ordained* and impowered, by *God* alone. It is *God* that gives him *the Sword*, and *Power* of Life and Death, even when he is named and chosen by the People, and most freely and voluntarily submitted to by them: And tho' he be *the Ordinance of Man*, that is, chosen and named by Man, and for the use of Man, in *St. Peter's* Sense; yet he is, all this notwithstanding, still *the Minister of God*, and *the Ordinance of God*, in that of *St. Paul*, which I am endeavouring to assert and explain. It is with the People, even in the most popular Elections, as it is with Women in case of Marriage: They may chuse the Man; but it is *God* alone that makes him the Husband and the Head of the Woman: And were it not for *God's* holy Institution of Matrimony, the most decent and lawful Acts of it, would be no better than impure mixtures. And, if even in the utmost case, that can be supposed, the *Power* of the Magistrate comes *from God*; and Man does not, in the least, give it: much less can it be said, that he does, in Kingdoms Successive, and of a very long duration: And that for Instance, the *Power* of our Kings and Queens in this Nation, is any ways owing to, or derived from, the People; who have nothing to do, now, even with the Choice, or Nomination of them.

*The State
of Nature.*

Methinks these plain Places of Scripture, and as plain matters of Fact, which I have produced, might be sufficient to satisfy Men in this Point. But some People will not see at Noon-day; nay, rather than see, will shut their Eyes when the Sun shines. Without minding these positive and express Declarations of our Saviour, and of *St. Paul*, about the Original of Civil Power; or, it may be, in opposition to them; *the Original*
Contract

Contract is press'd, as a thing self-evident; and without dispute. We live now, it is true, say they, in the State of settled Government; but, who first settled and made it, but the People? In the *State of Nature*, which surely was before Government, all Men were free and independent, and by free Consent and Choice they made Magistrates, and gave them such and such Powers, as seemed good for the common Welfare. And this appears by the *Original Contract*, between the Magistrate and the People; by which the People makes still the Magistrate in many Places; ties him to such and such Rules, by Conditions and Oaths; and ties himself likewise by Oaths, and by a free and formal Surrender of his Liberty. And tho' Magistrates may be Successive in most places, yet they are still the Work of the People, because one time or other, heretofore, made so by them. This plainly shews, that Government is a mutual and free Agreement between Magistrates and Subjects; for those to rule by such and such Directions, and for these to obey in such and such Cases. And this *Original Contract* cannot be of any other nature, than other human Contracts; which are freely, and at pleasure made by the Parties concerned; and which equally bind them both; and are a mere Act of their free Choice.

In answer to this, I might not allow of this Utopian Supposition, called *the State of Nature*, which has no Being but in the Fancy of them who urge it; since Men ever were civilly governed, by God's Appointment, some way or other. But let it pass, as well as the Case of the Shipwreck'd People, thrown on an unknown Strand, and forming themselves into a Civil Government. I say that, for all this, the *Power* of the Civil Magistrate, is still given him *by God*, and not by the People, even the People, that chuses him.

*The Original
Contract
made by God
first.*

The same God, that gave the Magistrate Power over the Lives of others, when Malefactors, made also the Civil and *Original Contract* between him and his Subjects: And the Coronation-Oath, as well as the Oath of Allegiance, were made in Heaven, before they were written or taken upon Earth; and neither Magistrate, nor People, had any hand at all in it. (I mean, as to the Substance of it; for, as to some particular Circumstances, they may vary in different Places, as Men see fit.) It is God that ties the Magistrate, as well as the People: And tho' the Breach of the *Original Contract*, on either side, does affect the other, and often grievously; yet it affects God much more, and offends him in chief, and in the first place. And as the People rebelling *resists the Ordinance of God*; so does the King by carrying his Power farther, than God, in *the Original Contract*, does allow, violate and transgress the same *Ordinance*. It is here, again, as in Marriage; if either Party breaks the Conjugal Faith, great Offence, indeed, is given to the other; but God is offended, in chief, by having his sacred Institution broken and abused. This double Truth *David* well understood, when having done *Uriah* a double Injury, both as a Husband, by defiling his Bed, and as a Subject, by causing him to be slain by the *Ammonites*; yet owns his chief Offence to have been against God, *Psalm 51. 4.* in both regards; *against thee, thee only have I sinned.* Which plainly shews, that when *the Original Contract* between King and People, is broken on either side, tho' it may grievously affect the other; yet the Party chiefly offended is God. And if *David* says, *against thee only*; the offending side may well say, against thee *chiefly* I have sinned. And if it be replied, that as a Woman may chuse whether she will marry at all, or no; so might the People at first chuse a Magistrate,

or

or live without him ; as in other Civil Contracts, he may make them or let them alone, sell or not sell, buy or not buy, for instance : And that in such Contracts, tho' never so free, and which might have been let alone, God is also chiefly offended, when they are broken ; as well as in Civil Government, when it is abused, either by the Magistrate, or the People : That therefore my Argument is not conclusive. I answer, that there is this difference between other Civil Contracts and this, That this cannot be let alone, tho' others may ; God having made it necessary ; and ordained from the beginning of the World, that some should rule and others be ruled ; by reason, that the World could not subsist, without Civil Government : And St. Paul's Sayings, that *all Power is from God*, that *the Civil Powers are ordained of God* ; and that Men *must needs be subject*, being eternal and unalterable Truths, as long as the World endures. I hope the *Original Contract* will now give way to God, as *popular Elections* did before, and leave him in possession of his being the sole Author of Civil Power in Magistrates.

And if the People did not give them their Civil Power ; it necessarily follows, that they have none over them or their Persons, to call them to an account before a Court of their own erecting ; and to make them answer, as *Pilate* did *Jesus* ; and try them for their Lives, as Malefactors are tried. For God gives the *Sword*, and the *Testimony* or *Book* to the Magistrate alone, and, by no means, and in no case, to the People. It is in God's Name that the Prince rules by the one, and punishes by the other. All the Courts in his Dominions, both Civil and Criminal, are kept in his Name. And unless God should send from Heaven a special Commission, to any Man or Men ; I cannot see how any Person or Persons,

Supreme Magistrates cannot be tried by the People.

may, with any justice, or any colour of it, go about, so much as to confine him, much less to try him formally, and least of all, to take his Life from him. Even he himself, with all his Power, and the Sword in his hand, has no Right to take away any Man's Life, that is not his Subject, either born or equivalent; tho' for never so great a Crime, and never so fully proved. And shall Subjects, who can shew no Commission at all for it; and who, of all Men, ought least to pretend to it; dare to apprehend as a Malefactor; to try, condemn, and put to death, him who, alone in his Dominions, has God's Power in his hands; to execute Malefactors, justly condemned? God forbid. It was, it is true, once done in this Land, to the Offence of all good Men, and to the eternal Shame of the Actors in that dismal Tragedy. But, as the Son of God died once, and can die no more: so, I hope, such a singular unparallel'd Parricide will never be more attempted. Compared to which, even the Barbarousness of the *Janizaries* in *Turky*, who strangle their Kings; when they do not like them, may be called an Act of Grace.

The second
Rule.

Civil Government
for the good
of the People.

The second fundamental Rule, about Civil Government, mentioned in Scripture, is, that it was instituted by God, for the *Good* and Benefit of Mankind; and, by no means, either for the Greatness of the Magistrate, or the Oppression of the People. St. Paul calls the *Higher Powers* of his Time, the *Ministers of God* to their Subjects for Good; for their Good and Advantage, no doubt, and not for their Misery and Ruin. He says farther, that they are *Revengeurs to execute Wrath*; the Wrath of God, and, in God's Name, the just Wrath of the Higher Powers themselves, when their Laws shall be broken and abused by *them that do evil*. And St. Peter affirms, that both *Kings* and *Governours* are ordained for the

punishment

go punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them
to that do well. I press'd these Expressions, before,
his to shew that Magistrates had their Power from
his God; and I press them now to prove, for what
ght end, and to what purpose, how far, and in what
ub- measure they have it.

As when God Almighty, from whom all Power *By God's*
comes, and in whom alone it does originally re- *Design and*
side, was pleased to institute Civil Governours; *Example.*
he made them so, by communicating to them a
Ray and a Share of his Power; so he gave them
that Power in what degree and measure he thought
fit; and thus far they have it, and no farther.
And no wonder, that the Civil Power should be
confined to Civil Actions, and even in them re-
strained by Justice, Goodness, and Mercy: since
God himself is pleased to bind us, by his Laws,
only in our moral Capacities, and leaves us free
in our natural Actions: And even where he gives
us strictest Laws, they are all just and merciful,
and good. Therefore to think of unbounded
Power in human Magistrates, is to dream of a
thing chimerical and impossible. For, in the first *Civil Power*
place, Magistrates have no Power at all over *reaches not*
their Subjects, in their natural or private Actions; *private A-*
so as to direct and order them, how they shall, *ctions,*
for instance, rule their Families; imploy them-
selves this or that way; study or work, in this
or that Trade; converse with their Friends, or
live solitary and retired: These, the Civil Con-
tract does not reach, and was not intended to
abridge or controul; and Men are, in them, in-
tirely left to themselves, and their own free Li-
berty and Pleasure. Again, as to Religion the *Nor Reli-*
Magistrate has no Right, to force upon his Sub- *gion;*
jects which he pleases. And, tho' the Laws of
the Land should forbid that, which some of them
may think to be the true; yet even in such a
Case, he ought either to let them go away peacea-
bly;

Is not absolute in civil things,

But stinted by Scripture to Justice and Mercy.

bly; or, at least, to let them serve God in their Hearts, and Retirements, as their Conscience directs them; and no ways, on that account, molest them, so long as, otherwise, they are loyal and faithful Subjects. And even in their Civil Capacities, Subjects are not at the arbitrary Pleasure of the Civil Powers, no, not of the highest and the supreme. If they are not *evil doers*, they cannot justly be *punish'd*, or ill used: And; if they *do well*, they have just grounds to expect their share in the Prince's Favour and *Praise*; every one according to his Station and Degree.

Princes and Kings, or any other Magistrates, are perfectly mistaken, if they think, that God gave them their Civil Power over their Subjects, for their own particular Advantage; and to be arbitrary or despotick, that is, Lord it over the People, at their bare Will and Pleasure. Such a thing never *came into God's mind*; he never thought, in the least, of it; never *spake it*; and he does, in many Places of Scripture, declare directly to the contrary. He knew best what Power to give to Princes, and in what measure; even like to that which he would have used, had he governed Men immediately himself. And by ruling them at first, by Fathers and Patriarchs, he sufficiently shewed that his Intention was, that Princes should rule their Subjects with the Love, Care, and Tenderneſs of a Father; that they might be respected and obeyed by them, with the Regard and Duty of Children. Which plainly implies, that it is not only the Duty and Obligation of Princes, but also their Interest and Advantage, to rule justly and gently: And that as, in Families, the Welfare both of Father and Children; so, in Kingdoms, the Welfare both of King and Subjects, does consist in the same thing, and is promoted the same way, namely by mutual Love; by Love and filial Obedience

Jer. 19. 5.

on the one side, and by Love and paternal Care on the other. So that the Interest of Princes is best promoted by a just Government, and consists in the very same thing, in which the Interest of the People does. They are often bidden in the Old Testament to rule according to Justice and Mercy; and told that their *Throne is establish'd by Righteousness*. That *Mercy and Truth preserve the King, and his Throne is upholden by Mercy*. That the Design of God in raising them was, that, *sitting in the Throne of Judgment, they should scatter away all evil with their eyes. Judge his People with Righteousness, and his Poor with Judgment; save the Children of the Needy, and break in pieces the Oppressor*. These Scriptures, spoken in God's Name by two of the greatest and most potent Kings; and the like Places, too numerous to be here quoted; do visibly shew that Civil Power in Princes, is bounded and tied by God, with Justice and Goodness, with Truth and Mercy; with Severity on the one side; but Clemency and Favour on the other. Therefore far from being made for themselves; or their Subjects, for their Pleasure; they are made and designed by God Almighty their Institutor, for the Service, the Protection, and the Good of the People: And, their just and deserved Prerogatives set aside, and always excepted; more to be the *Servants*, than the Masters of their Subjects. And let this Expression give them no Offence. It can be no Disgrace to them, to be thus bound, since they are bound no otherwise than God has holily and mercifully bound himself; and than his blessed and eternal Son was bound by him, tho' a most loving and tender Father. For he sent him, *not to be served but to serve*; and even to *give his Life a Ransom for Mankind*.

Prov. 16.

12.

Prov. 20.

28.

Prov. 20. 8.

Psal. 72. 2,

4.

*Princes**Servants**of the Peo-**ple as Christ**was.*

Matth. 20.

28.

Luk. 22. 27.

Subjects
servilely o-
verlooking
their Civil
Rights.

As to their
Lives

And For-
tunes.

Magistrates
answerable
to God for
Civil Di-
sturbances.

But it is not the Mistake of Princes alone, to fancy that their Power is unbounded, and can never be screwed up too high. Subjects themselves do often overlook their Civil Rights, and make themselves worse than God designed them; tho' they should be, as to their private Circumstances, the poorest and meanest in the World. Not only in the East where Government is, generally, absolute and barbarous; but even in some Parts of *Christendom*, Subjects will servilely think, and as servilely tell their Kings, that their Lives and Fortunes are theirs, tho' their Soul and Religion is God's only. There is no Truth in the first part of that Saying. No Prince has any farther Power over the Lives of any of his Subjects, than as they are *evil doers*. He may, indeed, employ and command, even the good, in his Wars; and they may lose their Lives for his Service, and that of the State. Otherwise their Lives, when they live within the Civil Laws, ought to be as sacred to him, as any thing can be, which his Power does not reach; the Honour of their Wives and Daughters, for instance, or any thing of the like nature. And as for the Fortunes of Subjects; when they have done that Suit and Service, and paid those Tributes and Customs, which they owe by Law to the Magistrate: They are Masters of the rest; may freely and peaceably enjoy it; and dispose of it as they please; so that Morality and Religion be always observed. And if the Prince does attempt to abridge his Subjects of their just Rights, or totally to take them from them: Tho' the Subjects may many times be much to blame, to disturb the State, for that reason; nay, even tho' Self-defence and Resistance should be universally sinful; which I do not at all affirm or deny; but only suppose for Argument-sake. Yet even in the worst of Cases, he is answerable to God

God for all the Civil Disturbances and Miseries which often ensue upon it ; as having given occasion to them , by his ill Administration ; and by his transgressing the bounds, which God had assigned him. Thus, tho' an Adulteress be much to blame at any time, and in any case ; yet her Husband is much more so, before God, when by his own Adulteries first, his ill usage of his Wife, his ruining, and then forsaking her ; he shall have given her that sad and lamentable Provocation.

And let not Princes complain of these Decisions ; they are not mine, but God's in Scripture. What Privileges would they challenge ? Is it a small thing to be God's Deputies ? To govern Mankind in his Name ? To have the greatest Trust lodged, and reposed in them, by the Almighty ? To be the noble Channells and Conduits, by which Peace and Plenty, Riches and Pleasure, do flow and circulate, in this lower World ? To have it in their Power to punish Vice ; to disperse evil doers, as the Sun does Darknes ; and to make the good thrive and prosper, as the Spring and good Seasons do the Fruits of the Earth ? Man is hardly capable of greater Powers here below : Will nothing suffice their Ambition, unless, *Lucifer-like*, they do even ascend into Heaven ; exalt their Throne above the Stars of God, above the heights of the Clouds ; and be like the most High ? Nay unless they be above him, and more arbitrary than he is ; who never took Men's Lives or Fortunes, by his own hand, in a violent and extraordinary manner, and contrary to the natural course of things ; except when highly provoked by their enormous Crimes and prodigious Actions ; witness the Men before the Flood ; *Sodom* and *Gomorrha* ; *Egypt* and the *Canaanites* ; the old Jews ; and a few more.

The true Greatness of Princes.

Their false Greatness.

Is. 14. 12, 13, 14.

I have

The Au-
thor's Free-
dom on
what grown-
ded.

I have said so much upon this second Rule, fully and clearly to establish and vindicate it, and no ways out of any Disrespect to Higher Powers. And as the People could not be justly offended with me, that, with the Scripture, I should censure their Mistakes, when I asserted and explained, out of it, the first Rule: So, I hope that even the greatest Kings will not find fault with me, if, out of the same Scripture, I humbly lay before them their Duties; and endeavour, in God's own Words, to set just bounds to their utmost Power. And I am the freer in speaking, what I do verily, and from my heart, take to be the sense of Scripture, about bounds of Kingly Power: Because the *British* Government is the wisest, the justest, and the best poised in the World; and this day the safest, and the most glorious of any, that we know upon the face of the Earth; and therefore the farthest of all, from danger of arbitrary and absolute Power. Such a thing, indeed, was attempted within our Memory; but by God's interposing, and, in a manner, miraculous Hand, it was almost as soon prevented, as designed. And we have well-grounded Hopes to believe; that it will never again be so much as thought of, by any of our Kings; or suggested to them by any of their Subjects. For, as for her present Majesty; arbitrary Power, and her Administration are as far distant, as the East is from the West. Her loyal and Liege-Subjects fear nothing in her Time, but her Death: And can no more be afraid, that either their Laws or their Religion, their Lives or their Liberties, their Properties and Estates, should in the least be hurt, or so much as unjustly touch'd; than they can fear Darkness from the Sun; Frost and Snow, in a warm Summer; Dearth and Scarcity, from a plentiful Crop; or the Miseries of War, in the midst of a profound Peace.

The

The third fundamental Rule concerning Civil Government flowing from the two former, and built upon them, as its just and natural Foundation; is, that, since the Power of Magistrates is from God, and given them, by him, for the Good and Advantage of the People; *therefore the People must needs be subject to them, not only for Wrath and fear of Punishment, if they are not; but also for Conscience sake, and out of Duty and Regard to God who gave them their Power: And must obey Magistrates as they would obey God, did he immediately govern them. Be subject, I say, every Soul, every one of them, to the higher Powers; not resist them, because they are God's Ordinance, and because they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation; be severely punish'd hereafter by God, who is chiefly offended, by having an Affront put upon his Deputies; and often in this World, both by God himself, and by the Magistrate, who acts in his Name, and by his Order.*

This third Rule is the cause of all Civil Obedience, as the first is the ground of all Civil Power. It is, as well as the first, the *Magna Charta* of Kings; as the second is the *Magna Charta* of the People. Subjects must obey, because God commands them so to do; as Kings must rule, because God impowers them to rule.

But the Reasonableness of the Duty, and the Benefit of it, is a farther Engagement to that Obedience. Subjects need not dread Princes, *for they are not a Terror to good Works, but to the evil; and doing that which is good, as in all Reason they are bound; far from being afraid of the Power, they may justly expect praise of the same.* The bare Command of God were enough to oblige Subjects to obey. But when that Command is grounded on the very Advantage that follows Obedience, nothing can be said, with the least pretence.

pretence of Reason, in the behalf of disobedient Subjects. For, what more reasonable than for Men to obey them, who are obeyed, not for their own sakes, but for the sakes of them that obey them? who are their Protectors and Guardians? and whose chief business is to watch over them, to study their good, and to procure it?

Man's Self-interest.

The bulk of Mankind are selfish and ungrateful; insensible of Obligations, and altogether for their own Advantage. They would willingly have the Sweet of Government, but by no means that which they call the Bitter of it: Are well pleased to enjoy Peace and Quiet, to get Estates, and have the full management of them; but would fain do nothing else towards Plenty and Ease, and let some body else keep all dangers from them. They think it a great happiness to sleep and to wake safe and secure from harm from abroad; to have their Property, their Trade, and the Service of their Families unmolested and intirely to themselves. But Suit and Service for these, to them, who, under God, are the causes of so great Blessings; Submission and Obedience; Subjection and Duty are things, which are little to their taste and humour. And yet they would think it strange, if the Ground which they till did not bring its Increase; if their Work did not get them a Livelihood; if their Traffick did not turn to Account; if their Children and Servants did not assist them in their Business, who have maintenance, and are provided with all Necessaries by them. Thus they plead against themselves in refusing Obedience to them, who, under God, are the Procurers of all the good things they enjoy, in the World; and without whom they could have neither Property nor Peace. For, what would the World be, but a Wilderness; but a Den of Thieves; but a vast Wood, full of Beasts of Prey of all sorts; were it not for Ci-

vil Government. And is it not just therefore, highly just; that, whilst Magistrates rule and protect the Publick in God's Name, they should be, in God's Name submitted to and obey'd, by those who, for that very end, were made, by God, their Subjects.

In order to cause this mutual Relation to stand, *Controuled by this fair Rule.* and to make the Balance even, and the Load well poised, it was, that God, the God of Order, of Goodness and Justice, has equally prescribed in this Point; Power, even his own Power, mild and gentle, in the Magistrate; Obedience, Loyalty, and Submission in the Subject. If the one protects, the other must honour. If the Prince has the trouble of watching over his Subjects; the Subjects must be willing to respect the Prince. If the Prince secures to the Subject the Enjoyment of all good things; the Subject must own it, and proportion his acknowledgment, to the greatness of the Benefit.

And let not the Distribution be thought unequal on the Subject's side, and his Lot to be the *The difficulty of governing.* worse. It is so far from this, that if there be any Inequality and any Hardship, it is clearly on the Prince's part, and not on the People's. And if we consider things in themselves, and without the varnish and glaring, which may set off Power and Command; and make it appear a gay and a shining thing, full of brightness and lustre: We shall find that it is much a greater labour to command, than to obey; to attend the Welfare of Millions, than to have but one or a few to minister unto. To have Towns and Countries, Sea and Land, far and nigh to guard, than to have but a few Children, Servants, Tenants, and Vassals, to look after. Even as it is much easier to be a Day-labourer, or a Servant to a good Master, than to be Master, perhaps, to bad Servants and bad Labourers. Is it a small thing, think

think ye, ye Sons of Men, to have the Load of a Kingdom to carry? To have so many things to *mind* every day? So many Under-magistrates to oversee? So many Complaints to redress? So many Petitions to answer? So many thousands of People to do good to, and keep harm from? Not to mention, Enemies to keep off; Fleets and Armies to provide; Peace and War to administer and manage, safely and gloriously, and like a Prince, and God's Vicegerent? These things are so difficult and so laborious, that it is but bare Justice, that the People should contribute their share in the Labour; and on all these accounts, they *must needs be subject*.

*The Great,
and Men of
leisure
should be
best Sub-
jects.*

And as the Care of the Prince extends over every one in particular, so, every one in particular, *every Soul must be subject* to him: No exemption on the one side, no more than on the other. Nay, the greater Subjects are, as to their Estates and Privileges, the more obedient and subject to Princes they ought to be. The greater the Benefit is which they reap from the Government, the deeper and more submissive, ought to be their Loyalty and Obedience to it. More is preserved to them than to others. They have more to get or to lose by a good or bad Government; therefore their Allegiance and Duty, and Readiness to serve the Government, should answer these in due proportion.

Likewise, the more quiet and easy the Life of some Subjects is, the more thankful and obedient they should be to the Prince, and his Government, for it. The bulk of Subjects seem to earn the Prince's Care and Protection; more than the Great and the Retired. These last do, in a manner, reap where they have not sown; whilst the first, by Arts, Traffick, Labour, and Husbandry, do maintain, not only themselves, and the Prince, but also the others. I heartily wish that
the

the Nobles, and the Gentlemen ; the Clergy, the Lawyers, and the Merchants ; Men in Places of Profit ; and all that live in Plenty and at Ease, would consider this ; and be so much the better, and the more loyal Subjects ; so much the more willing to be subject, and submit to the Prince ; and to obey and serve him ; by how much the more quiet and easy their Life and their Estate is. However, the Rule is universal, no one *Soul* is exempted from Subjection ; let his Religion be what it will, Christian or not Christian ; let his Condition be what it will, great or small, bond or free, of the Laity or the Clergy ; even the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Clergy not excepted. All, and every one of them, *must be subject*.

The last fundamental Rule of Government, *The last Rule.* which may be called a Branch of the third, is, not only inward Respect, Love, and Subjection ; *Inward and outward Duties.* but outward Service from the Subjects, whensoever, and howsoever, the Prince and the Law shall want and require it, for the Support of the Government : which being chiefly for the People's good, ought therefore to be chiefly supported by the People ; otherwise the Prince could not answer the End of his Establishment, which is to preserve and protect them.

St. *Paul* gives an Instance of the inward Re- *Praying for* spect and Love which Subjects ought to have for *Magi-* their Princes, when he exhorts that *Prayers and* *strates.* *Supplications be made for them.* Praying for a Man is a certain Sign of our loving him, and wishing him well. And Princes being but Men, want God's Assistance to enable them to discharge the great Trust, which he has reposed in them : And therefore must be prayed for, with so much the greater Zeal, by how much God's Assistance is more necessary to them ; and will, most of all other Assistances of that kind, turn to the Advantage of the People. So that, praying for

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Magistrates

Magistrates they do, in reality, pray for themselves, *that they may under them lead a quiet and peaceable Life.* This is generally owned and practised by all Subjects, in all Governments; was done piously and zealously by the Primitive Christians, tho' the then Powers were Heathens; and ought much more to be done by Christians, who have Christians, like themselves, for their Princes.

Serving the Prince in his Wars.

Serving the Prince in his Wars, or like Occasions, is an Instance of the outward Service, due to him by his Subjects. This ever was paid to Princes in all Places, especially by the Jews; who at their King's Command, immediately took Arms and followed him. And without it, it would be impossible for any Prince, to be able to protect his People. For, Princes have no more Hands than other Men, and no greater bodily strength than private Persons. And when *Luk. 14. 31. thousands shall come out against them; how can they be able to meet them, unless they borrow thousands also, from the Hands of their Subjects?* Formerly, among the Jews, all that were able to bear Arms went to the Wars, sometimes together, sometimes by turns: And so among the old Romans ——— Something like it is still observed in many Kingdoms, in the Establishment of the Militia. Tho' generally Volunteers are raised every where for the Wars; and, only in case of Necessity, press'd by Law to that Service. But, let the particular manner be how it will; in general, it is the Duty of Subjects, to serve the Prince in his Wars, especially when defensive; such having visibly in their Design, the Protection of the Subjects, and the Preservation both of Prince and People.

Paying Taxes.

Paying Taxes for the Maintenance of the Government, both in Time of Peace, and Time of War, is another Instance named both by our Sa-
viour

viour and *St. Paul*. Our Saviour declares the *Tribute* which was paid, in his Time, by the Jews, to be *Cesar's* just due, and by right to be rendered to him. And *St. Paul* farther affirms, that by reason of their being *God's Ministers attending continually upon* the discharge of their Duty; therefore *Tribute* ought to be paid to them. God has set *Tribute* and *Custom*, as the Prince's Wages, for his Service; without which, he could not serve in his Station. Therefore they must be paid, both for the Sake of God, and for the Interest and Advantage of the People: who otherwise, by paying none to the Prince, would on the first Occasion, be forced to pay and surrender their whole Estate, to any other, that should but have Power to take it from them. Taxes are look'd upon, by some People, as Impositions and Burthens; but it is a palpable Mistake: They are rather a frugal Method of saving the rest of every private Man's Estate. And tho' immediately laid by the Civil Government, and by the Law; yet they are originally laid by God himself, being laid by his Power and Order. So that, at all times, especially such as these, Taxes are of divine Institution, in general, and to be paid for Conscience-sake, to the supreme Power; tho' the particular Proportion is left to human Direction and Prudence.

Other Instances of outward Service, to Princes by their Subjects, might be given; but these are enough to shew the Necessity and Reasonableness, of the last fundamental Rule I named, that belongs to all Civil Governments.

These four Rules are essential to all sorts of Governments. For, all are *from God*; all were ^{These Rules} essential to ^{all Govern-} instituted for the good of Mankind; in all, the People must be *subject to* the Prince, and obey him, as the Prince must govern and protect the People; and, in all, as much *inward and outward*

Respect and Service is to be paid to the Prince, as is required to enable him to discharge his Duty. They are also sufficient to preserve all States, Kingdoms, and Commonwealths; tho' in several Particulars their Constitutions may differ one from another, according to Time, Place, and other Circumstances; as they were made different at first; or afterwards they may be made different, upon occasion. It is all one in the main, and to the same purpose (as long as these four fundamental Rules are observed in any Civil Constitution) whether the Higher Powers have more or less Prerogative, so that they have enough to keep up their Dignity and Honour: Whether the Subjects have more or less Liberty and Property, so that they have enough to live in quiet, and to enjoy the Comforts of Life.

*Sufficient
to preserve
them.*

If these four Rules were observed by Princes and Subjects, how happy would Mankind be! how sweet and pleasant the Days of their Lives! No Tyranny and Oppression on the one side; no Rebellion and Sedition on the other; but gentle Government and fatherly Commands; chearful Obedience, and filial Love and Affection. This was undoubtedly the Design of God in instituting Civil Government: And it is not from him, that Men are not as happy, as Sin and Mortality will allow them to be. All their Civil Sufferings are owing to themselves, and to their unhappy Conduct one towards another. Despotick Power on the one side; wilful Rebellion on the other, toss the World to and fro as the Winds do the Sea; especially when, to domestick Divisions, there are added outward Quarrels; and a foreign War is joined to a Civil one. This ever was seen in the World, in several Places; and is, to our affliction and cost, seen by us at this very time, in many Parts, not of the Heathenish and Miscreant, but of the Believing and the Christian World.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

The last Part of the Discourse.

THE Case of Rebellion admits of no Diff- *Several Cases. The Case of Rebellion.*
 culty. The Prince has God's *Sword* in his Hand, to *punish evil doers* of all sorts: especially when their Crimes are levelled at God himself, in a singular manner; by affecting the Government, which he instituted; and by offending at once, both God and Man, both the Prince and the People: Other Crimes offend God, chiefly as he is holy and just; but Rebellion offends him besides, as Governour of the World; as King of Kings, and Prince of Princes. Other Crimes hurt only one or more private Men and Fellow-Subjects, either in their Estates, Reputation, or Lives: But Rebellion offends the Prince directly and in chief; and, by the Consequences which commonly attend it, may reach the whole Community, and every particular Person. For, in Civil Wars, which often are the Fruit of Rebellion, the Lives and Estates of every individual Subject are in danger. Therefore, the Prince *bears not the Sword in vain*, but may and ought to draw it, to punish all Malefactors, especially publick ones, such as are, eminently, Traitors and Rebels.

To declare against this great Evil, and prevent it as much as she could, was the Design of our Church in her Homilies against wilful Rebellion; *Church-Homilies against it.* which was a thing very common, when they were first published. For, against the Law of the Land; without any Oppression or Provocation; at the Instigation of a foreign Power; Papists did then frequently disturb the Government, endeavour to raise Civil Wars; nay attempt the very Life of her then sacred and glorious Majesty,

only because she was a Protestant : And because the Pope had excommunicated her ; absolved her Subjects from their Allegiance ; and given away, both her Dominions and her Life, to any, who, by any means, fair or foul, open or secret, could become Masters of them.

*The Case of
Faults in
the Prince.*

The Case of a faulty Prince is more difficult, because there is no human Power above him. Other Princes are but his Equals, and will seldom concern themselves in his Affairs ; and when they do, cannot do it, but by way of Mediation. So that, Subjects having no Appeal, but to the Prince himself ; if he refuses to hear them, they have no apparent Remedy ; unless God please miraculously to interpose : Which Men may humbly pray for ; but have no ground, from Reason or Scripture, always to depend upon. God often suffering in his wise Counsels, Nations to be punished, when yet their Offence is not visible, to the Eye of Flesh.

This is the last Part of my Undertaking, the most difficult and melancholy of all : Which therefore I must manage with the utmost Caution ; and, either untie the Knot, or shew that it cannot be untied ; and must not be cut, but when Providence offers no other way to escape.

In order to it, I will first adjust some Preliminaries, in which it is involved ; and, by settling them, and removing the difficulties which surround it, leave it naked and bare, and disentangled : That it may with more easy access, be look'd steadily in the Face ; and, when well viewed and considered ; either encountered and overcome ; or dismiss'd and left to it self, to stand on its own bottom ; till the Event shews how, for the time, it is decided.

*Of private
Vices in
Magi-
strates.*

And first, if the Prince is faulty only to himself, that is, guilty of Immoralities and Vices, not offending the publick ; this, as it does not affect

affect the People's Rights, so it ought not to defeat their Allegiance. Our Saviour owns *things* due to *Cesar*, tho' *Tiberius*, who then ruled, was a very wicked Man. He paid Tribute to him, which was all the Service of him required. He submitted to his Civil Laws, and appeared before *Pilate* his Deputy. *St. Paul* appealed to *Nero*, tho' he also was a very wicked Prince. And the Primitive Christians, who often lived under very vicious ones, as *Caligula* and others, paid ready Obedience to them in Civil Things; nay, tho' they were Heathens, and persecuted them for their Religion. So that, even difference of Religion *of a false Religion.* in the Prince, is no bar to the Allegiance from the Subject, in Civil Things, unless the Law of the Land has otherwise provided.

I say this with regard to the late Act of Security, by which a Popish Prince is barred from ruling in this Kingdom: Whereas before, he might, by the Law of the Land, reign, tho' over Protestants; and was submitted to by them, tho' to their very great damage. And let no Exception be made to this Law; and no inherent, and therefore stronger, Right to the Crown, pleaded against this Act of Parliament, by any Popish Prince whatsoever; tho' never so near in Blood to the Crown, nay tho' the very nearest. For, not to insist on the Lawfulness and Justice of this Law in general; or the particular Expediency of it, against a Prince, professing a Religion that carries a signal Prejudice and Disgrace in the very Face of it, which no Religion besides does. For it submits all Civil Powers to a foreign Government; and may, on occasion, not only justify Rebellion, and murdering a lawful Sovereign, but even command it in God's Name, and as a Duty of Conscience. Not to insist on these things; I will only produce against Papists their own Example, for a lawful Precedent; and say

that they are but served in *Great Britain* by Protestants, as a Protestant Prince was, in the last Age, served by them, in a neighbouring Nation. For, *Henry* the Fourth, the lawful Successor to the Crown of *France*, according to the Law of that Kingdom; but happening to be a Protestant, he was universally opposed in his just Rights, for this only Reason, that it was against the Law of the Land, for him to reign, unless he turned Papist; it being fundamental in *France*, for their Kings to be Catholics, as they call it. And he was accordingly forced to change his Religion; else he must not have been King. Now, this Law pleaded against him, could not be so ancient as the *French* Monarchy, the first Kings of which were Heathens: It must then be of a later date; at farthest made, since they were Christians; or a Custom time out of mind. And if so, what was established there by Law or Custom, may as reasonably be established here; and Papists, as justly debarred, from reigning in this Kingdom, as Protestants are from reigning in *France*.

This Instance, and those of the like nature excepted, that is, when the Law of the Land is a bar to any particular Qualification, or personal Fault in a Prince; other private Vices or Faults, can be no just Exceptions to his Title; and Subjects are bound to obey him, notwithstanding his private Mistakes.

The Prince commanding things against Conscience.

If the Prince commands immoral things, or will establish a Religion, which is against the People's Conscience; the Case is plain, and admits of no deliberation. God's Rights and Commands are antecedent and superior to the Prince's, and must be first obeyed: And, if the things which are *Cesar's*, must be rendered to *Cesar*; much more must the things which are *God's*, be rendered to *God*. This Case may be consider'd two ways; for, either the Magistrate forbids things, which

which Subjects think God has expressly commanded, to be done: or commands things, which they think God has, as expressly, forbidden. In the first Case, they must do what God commands, tho' they should, by it, endanger their Lives. This was the Case of the Apostles, when the High Priest and his Senate forbad them to preach *Jesus*, and his Religion: For, they preached it notwithstanding; and courageously told them, that they *ought to obey God rather than Men*: *Act. 5. 29.* even appealing to their own Judgment about it; *whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you, more than unto God, judge ye.* *Act. 4. 19.* And this is the Case of every Christian, who thinks himself as expressly commanded, to profess outwardly and publickly the Christian Religion, or such and such Christian Doctrines and Worship: For, then, tho' the Magistrate should forbid him, he must do it nevertheless, tho' he were sure to be put to death for it. In the second Case, Subjects must, by no means, comply with the Prince's Command, tho' they should lose their Lives by disobeying it. And when they have used all the Intreaties possible, must, if apprehended, meekly suffer Death, for disobeying the Prince, rather than offend God, to save their Lives. This was the Case of the Primitive Christians, when commanded to sacrifice to Idols; which they, for the most part, absolutely refused, and suffered Martyrdom for it: And it is now that of the *French* Protestants, when commanded to go to Mass; which many will not do, but either flee for it, or when taken, are Confessors or Martyrs. In the first Case, a submissive Disobedience, and in the second Passive Obedience strictly so called; in both, obeying God and disobeying the Prince, are the indispensable Duties of all Subjects.

The Case of Tyranny in the Prince, comes next to be considered; when he attempts to do

Violence, either to private Men, or to the Publick; by openly breaking the Laws of the Land; or quite setting them aside, by a pretended dispensing Power; or even endeavouring to change entirely the Government, either in Church, or in State, or in both. This is a dismal Case indeed, and has a very terrible appearance. However, when all other means prove too short and ineffectual; and the Subjects can no way mollify the Heart of the Prince, and make him relent from their intended Ruin: There is still a lawful way to evade it; and that is, by absconding, or leaving the Dominions of such a Prince, if it be possible. Our blessed Saviour does plainly allow of this, when he gives leave to his Disciples, *when they were persecuted in one City, to flee into another.* David being hated by Saul, and in danger of his Life, *fled and escaped.* Some Primitive Christians; especially those who thought their Lives, more serviceable to the Church, than their Sufferings, as the Bishops, and other Pastors and Fathers of it; did likewise leave their Country, and wandered about, or lay concealed, till the Persecution was over. Thus in our Days, whole Protestant Churches have fled, to avoid Death or Popery. Thus many private Men of all Conditions, often flee from the Fury and Tyranny of their Prince. And we are told by Travellers, that the poor *Americans*, in many Parts of the *West-Indies*, living under the Yoke of the *Spaniards*; will sometimes whole Towns together flee and be gone, and disappear for ever, by the help of their thick and great Woods; when they are press'd too hard, and meet with a fair Opportunity for so doing.

*The Case of
Self-defence
and Resistance,*

Whether it be lawful for Subjects, either a few or many; either single, but great and potent Persons; or numbers of common People; or both; to stand on their Defence, in such a Case; when
either

either they cannot, or will not leave their Country; is the nicest and most difficult Question; the very bare and naked great Case, freed from all other lesser Cases about it; and the chief, if not only, Subject of this Discourse. Many are of Opinion, that the People, under such a Necessity and Pressure, may lawfully take Arms, and resist the Prince, till a fair and just redress to their Grievances, be obtained. Others absolutely deny it, and will allow of no Resistance to the supreme Magistrate, on any account, even the most desperate, whatsoever. And the many Reasons they give, each for their Assertion, shew at least, that it is a very momentous, lamentable, and difficult Case; since the World is so widely divided about it, and split into two Parties, so point blank opposite one to another.

My Design not being to write about State-affairs, otherwise than in general, as I declared before: I need not produce any of these Reasons, for either side. And having confined my self to the Scripture; without entering, at all, into that Dispute as it stands upon human Reasons, Reasons of State, or Self-preservation; without affirming or denying any thing in that Case; without either commending or blaming any Decision: I will barely inquire, whether the Scripture says any thing about it; and, upon the Declaration or Silence of it, ground the rest of my Discourse. And, to give my Opinion frankly; I do declare, that having examined the Scripture throughout, as attentively and impartially as I could; I cannot find any thing in it, by which that difficult Case may, either way, be decided: Neither Example fairly applicable to it; nor Permission or Prohibition, which may demonstratively resolve it, for or against. So that, as to Scripture, I must leave it undecided, as I found it: And advise Disputants about it, to have recourse to some other way to unravel

Not mentioned in Scripture.

David's
Example.

unravel it; or to leave it to it self, to be provided for, in Time, Place, and other Circumstances, under which it may happen. And because I cannot prove the silence of Scripture in this Case, but by shewing that, what is alledged from that sacred Book, to decide it, on either side, does not fully come up to it; I will give a patient and a fair hearing, to all that I can find quoted out of Scripture, or the Times near it, to decide a Case; which I think is undecidable from it, either the one way, or the other. *David's Example* is fit to be examined first; both because it stands first upon Record; and also seems to be full and decisive, for the Lawfulness of Self-defence on the Subject's part, in Cases of Extremity. Being pursued by *Saul*, and his Life unjustly fought; after many Flights and Escapes, he came to the *Cave of Adullam*; where, besides his Brethren and his Father's House, every one that was in Distress, or in Debt, or discontented, gathered themselves to him, and he became their Captain, and there were with him, about four hundred Men. And in time this little Army increased to a great one, and his Host was a great Host, like the Host of God; for, there were in it, Captains over hundreds, and Captains over thousands. And yet, far from being blamed for this, the Spirit of God gives him this noble Character, that he turned not aside from any thing that the Lord commanded him, save only in the matter of *Uriah the Hittite*. And yet, Resistance to the Civil Magistrate being a very great Sin, if it be a Sin at all; in that it resists God himself in the Person of his Representative; and extends to the whole Community of Subjects: It seems, by this Expression of Scripture, that *David's Action* is, not only not blamed, but even allowed as lawful.

In answer to this, I admit the matter of Fact to be true; but I absolutely deny the Consequence, as to the Case before us. For, tho' *David's* standing

ding on his Defence, be not blamed in Scripture, but allowed if you will: yet it does not follow from it, that all Self-defence and Resistance, to the Prince, is lawful: But only, such as is made by a Man in *David's* Circumstances, which will be found to be the Case of very few, if of any at all. *David* was not a bare Subject; but a King ^{1 Sam. 16.} anointed by Samuel, by God's express Order, long ^{1, 3, 13.} before *Saul* ever saw him. And God's Pleasure being, that he should be brought to *Saul's* Court, and advanced by him, in order to succeed him in the Kingdom: And farther, that *Saul* should seek his Life. It appears plainly, that his Self-defence and Resistance, was also peculiarly ordered by God: Which he visibly shewed, in causing by his special Providence, a deep sleep to fall upon *Saul* ^{1 Sam. 26.} and his Army, when in pursuit of *David*; that ^{12.} *David* might take his Spear and the Cruise of Water, ^{12.} that were at his Bolster, and yet spare his Life; and, by that noble and generous Action, get some Respite from *Saul*, and move him to relent: which he did accordingly, and promis'd *David*, to do him harm no more. *David's* Case therefore ^{21.} is of a very singular and extraordinary Nature; and can be pleaded by no Man, but by a Royal Colleague, and one too, who is anointed, by God's express Order, in the Life-time of his Partner. But, by no means, by a Subject or Subjects, tho' never so great and never so much injured. For, tho' the Scripture blames him not, nay commends him, if you will, for so doing; yet it does not, for all that, by any means, make his Case, an ordinary Case.

However, they that urge *David's* Action, in *His Piety* justification of Self-defence, would do well to ob- ^{to Saul.} serve also his pious carriage towards *Saul*, all along, even in his greatest distress; and when no less than his Life would satisfy that jealous Prince. For, tho' anointed King himself, and very unjustly pursued;

pursued ; yet *Saul's* Life was precious to him, and he forbore twice to take it from him ; when it was in his Power to have done it ; and he was press'd by his Men, either to do it himself, or give them leave to do it. Far from it, he called him *his Lord and his Master* ; and used this sacred, most pious, and dutiful detestation of such a Fact, *the Lord forbid, or, I abominate and abhor such a thing as prophane, impious and execrable, and so does God ; and may he ever keep me from doing it ; as the Original does import.*

1 Sam. 24.
6, 10.

26. 11, 18.

חלילה לי מזהו

The Person
of Kings sa-
cred.

This great, generous and pious King, shewed, by his Action and his Words, how sacred the Life of a King was to him. He had read, or heard, of God's Prohibition, *Touch not mine Anointed*, as meant eminently of Kings, tho' it does also extend, to other Persons specially favoured by God. Either he himself, or some other pious

Pf. 105. 15.

Psalmist, has quoted and inserted it in one of his Psalms. And he caused one to be put to death, who had killed *Saul*, tho' at his own Request, and he was none of his Subjects. For tho' the young Man might tell a Lie, since we are told before, in Scripture, that *Saul* killed himself, by

1 Sam. 31.
4.

falling on a Sword ; yet *David* believed what he said, and for that very reason bad one of his Men *fall upon him*. Even Heathenish Kings, *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Pharaoh*, seem to have been sensible of this Truth, that Crowned Heads are sacred. The

2 Sam. 1.
15.

last took *Jehoahaz* away into Egypt, but did not kill him. The first took *Zedekiah* Prisoner,

2 King. 23.
34.

whom he had made King, and who had rebelled against him, after he had sworn Fealty to him :

Ch. 25. 6, 7.

yet he contented himself to keep him close Prisoner ; and tho' he put his Sons to death, and his Eyes out ; yet he did not execute him : Respecting his Character of a King, and honouring himself, in the Person of that unfortunate Prince. What would these uncircumcised Kings have said, had they

they lived in our Fathers Days? What would *K. Charles* *David* himself have said, had he seen *K. Charles* ^{the 1st's} the First, seized, tried, and murdered, not by ^{Murder.} Strangers, but by his own Subjects? Even what he said on *Saul's* Death, and much more. Tell it ^{2 Sam. i.} not in Gath, lest the Philistines rejoice. The dismal ^{20.} Day on which that pious Prince, of ever blessed Memory, lost his Life, so inhumanly and so singularly (being the only King, that ever lost it in that horrible manner) like *Job's* Birth-day, ought to be wish'd to be struck out of the number of Days, and to *perish* for ever, out of the Memo- ^{Job 3. 3.} ry of all other Men. Only, in this Nation, it ought never to be forgot; but kept yearly as a Day of Humiliation and publick Affliction; till the last Man, of those Bloody and Anti-christian Principles, by which he fell, be in his Grave.

And because the last Revolution is often al-
 ledged, as a like Case ; I admit it for Argument-
 sake, tho' it is not a Scripture-case, about which,
 only, is my present Enquiry : And I return much
 the same Answer, which I did to the Case of *Da-
 vid*. The late King *William*, of ever glorious and
 blessed Memory, was a Sovereign Prince, even
 before he was King ; not so much as ever a Sub-
 ject to his Predecessor, as *David* was to *Saul* :
 And therefore his Case can never be a Precedent
 to bare Subjects. And tho' he came with an ar-
 med Force, to defend his Rights, and the Rights
 of the People, which were both equally invaded,
 and equally in danger : And tho' we ought to
 thank God, that he came, and was the glorious
 Instrument of our Preservation : Nay, tho' we
 should pronounce innocent all his Predecessor's
 Subjects, that came in to him, and joined with
 him against their King ; as *David's* Army must
 be cleared from Rebellion, as well as *David*.
 Yet, it does not follow, that when no Royal Col-
 league, and none equivalent to him, is at the Head
 of

of Self-defence and Resistance; yet, for all this Deficiency, Subjects may take up Arms, and defend themselves against their Sovereigns, and resist him. I do neither blame nor clear them, when so doing; for, I do not so much as speak to such a Case: Only I follow my matter, and affirm again, that neither the Example of *David*, nor that of *King William* (had he lived in *David's* Days, and his Action been recorded in Scripture, with the same Character which it gives to *David*) can be made a Precedent for ordinary Cases, of Self-defence and Resistance, of Subjects, to their Prince.

And here again, I cannot forbear to call on them, who alledge *King William's* Example, and the Revolution wrought by him: And to desire them to call to mind also, his great Piety and Clemency to *King James* the Second, no way inferior to *David's* Piety and Clemency to *Saul*; being both Sons-in-law to their Predecessors; and both having great Rights to their Crown, and much in the same manner; the one being anointed King by God's Order; the other a Prince of the Royal Blood. Let this, I say be remembered, as well as the Resistance; for, it is not done like fair Disputants, to take only one side of the Case, and forget the other. And if both sides be taken in, no Nation needs much fear such Revolutions.

K. William's
Piety
to K. James.

King *William* came with an armed Force; and the best part of the Nation sided and joined with him, against the then King. And what then? Pray mark also what followed — neither *King James's* Life, nor so much as his Confinement was in the least attempted, either by his Subjects, or by the Prince of *Orange*: When yet, *Cæsar*-like, it was easier for him to have done it, than spoke it. That unfortunate Prince was peaceably suffered to go, in the midst of Armies, even when he had disbanded his own. And being gone once from

from his Capital ; he was invited by his Subjects to return, and returned to it : And a second time, when safe Terms and a just Redress could not be obtained of him ; he was suffered to go quite away. And, when returned into one of his late Kingdoms, with an Army to restore him ; he was fairly fought and turned to flight. And when escaping by Sea, not so much as pursued, by King *William's* Ships of War ; but peaceably, again, suffered to go into a neighbouring Kingdom ; where he ended his Days in Peace, without any Attempts on his Person, by Assassinations ; whereas King *William's* Life was often in danger, by that cowardly and ungenerous, that villanous and infamous way. Let this noble and *David-* A Reproach to Regicides. like Example be again remembered. And let it, for ever, cover with confusion, all Regicides, and make them change and detest, their inhuman and unchristian Principles, about the Lawfulness of King-killing : not fit to be owned by any Protestants ; especially such as plead and pretend a stricter Reformation than others. They are much fitter to be rank'd with Jesuitical Tenets, about the Pope's Power of deposing Princes, upon occasion ; and giving their Kingdoms away to others by Name, or to the first that can, and will invade them : And that Kings thus deposed may lawfully be put to death, that is, murdered, even by their own Subjects. Whereas *St. Paul* and *St. Peter*, the two first pretended Popes, preach'd Submission and Obedience to *Nero*, the then *Roman* Emperor ; a Heathen by Religion, and, not only an ill Prince, but a very Monster of a Man.

Other Examples for Self-defence and Resistance Other Examples out of the Old Testament. to the Sovereign Magistrate, taken out of the Old Testament, are insufficient ; being either expressly commanded, or warranted by God ; or barely related, without either Commendation or Discommendation,

mendation, as many other Historical Facts are; or perfect Conspiracies and High Treasons; or, lastly, Acts of Justice upon Usurpers. Of the first sort are the Cases of *Jeroboam*, and of the ten Tribes, revolting from their King *Rehoboam*:

1 King. 12. For, God declares expressly *the thing to have been*
22, 23, 24. *from him*, and forbids by a Prophet, *the House of*
Judah and Benjamin, to fight against their Brethren
the Children of Israel. That of *Jehu*, whom God

2 King. 9. ordered to be anointed King over *Israel*, and to smite
3, 6, 7, 24. *the House of Ahab*; which he accordingly did, by
Ch. 10. 17. *slaying Joram Ahab's Son*, and all the Royal Fa-
mily, and reigning in his Master's place. And

1 King. 15. that of *Baasha*, who, tho' conspiring against *Na-*
27. *dab* his King, the Son of *Jeroboam*; yet, is said

14. 14. to have been raised up King over *Israel* by the Lord:

Because tho' a Traitor, yet was connived at, and warranted afterwards, by God Almighty. Of the second sort is the Case of *Amaziah*, who was slain, and his Son *Azariah* made King in his place: For, the Fact is barely related, without

2 King. 14. any mention of the Motives in the Conspirators:
19, 21. And they seem not to have acted out of Ambition, since they gave to his Son the Kingdom after him; so that, no Blame or Commendation is past upon

1 King. 16. it. Of the third kind is the Case of *Zimri* Ca-
9, 10. *ptain of Elah's Chariots*, who killed him and reigned in his stead. And, of the last, that of *Athaliah*, who having reigned six years, was, by the Order

2 King. 11. and Management of *Jehoiada* the High Priest, slain
3, 16. *by the King's House*. For, she was a perfect Usurper of the Throne; and the lawful King *Joash*, her Grandson, tho' concealed, yet alive all this while; who was put in Possession of his Kingdom, being seven years old.

That of the I am sorry to find the Example of the *Macca-*
Maccabees. *bees*, lately produced in a publick Speech in Print, in justification of Self-defence and Resistance, to the Higher Powers, in Cases of Extremity. For,

not

not to say that the Books, in which the Facts are recorded, are no part of Scripture, but Apocryphal. The *Maccabees*, of all Apocryphal Books, should not be quoted by Protestants to countenance any important, and yet dubious, Doctrine or Practice in Religion, as that of Resistance is; it being, no doubt a very great Crime, if it be a Crime at all. And, if they are quoted for such a purpose; I see no Reason, why Prayers for the Dead, and the Popish Purgatory, may not as well be proved from them, by a Papist, as the Lawfulness of Resistance, by a Protestant. For *Judas* is applauded, for *doing very well and honestly*, in ^{2 Mac. 12.} *praying for the Dead, that they might be delivered* 43, 44, 45. *from Sin.* Or why Self-murder, in a Case of Extremity, may not be thought, *a manful Death*; a generous, *noble*, and heroick Action: since *Razis* ^{14.41, 42.} is much commended, for so doing. And yet, the ^{46.} two first Doctrines are justly condemned as superstitious, by Protestants; and Self-murder look'd upon, by all Christians, as a great Crime. And whatever Answer any Man can make to a Papist, with relation to the said Examples; the same may be returned by the Papist, as to the Case in hand. Protestants should consider, that the *Maccabees* are some of those Apocryphal Books, that are never read publicly in our Churches; tho' they may be read at home, and a pious use made of many things contained in them. That the Family of the *Maccabees*, tho' valiant Men, and very zealous for their sacred Religion; and the great Instruments by which God wrought Deliverance to the Jews in their Days; yet did not stop there, but took Possession of the supreme Civil Power, which did not belong to them (they being of the Tribe of *Levi*) but to the House, and Family, and Descendants of *David*. And above all, it should be remembered, that all things recorded, even in Scripture, are not thereby recommended to our

E imitation;

imitation; witness *Phinehas's* Action in killing the *Israelite* and the *Moabites*, by a divine Warrant, and without human Authority for so doing; which therefore none may imitate, but when so licensed, and qualified as he was. As also *Sampson's* killing himself and the *Philistines*, by pulling down upon himself and them, the Roof of a House. For no Man, in his Senses, no Christian however, ought to do such a thing, unless by a particular divine Impulse, to bear him out in it, as it did *Sampson*. And if it is so, even with the Scripture, much more it ought to be so with *Apocryphal* Books, which therefore should be very carefully quoted, especially in Cases of great moment, as the Case of Resistance to Princes, without doubt, is.

Our Savi-
our's Ex-
ample.

Matth. 26.
51, 52.
Joh. 18.
10, 11.

On the other side, our Saviour's Example is produced, by the Patrons of absolute and unlimited Non-resistance. For, being unjustly apprehended by the *Jews*, and as unjustly tried and condemned by *Pilate*, yet he resisted not in the least; nay forbad *St. Peter* to fight in his Defence, and bade him *put up again* his *Sword*, which he had *drawn*, for that purpose. From whence they roundly conclude; that Subjects ought to imitate him, in all Civil Cases, even the most desperate; and offer no manner of Resistance, either to the Civil Power or his Orders, tho', never so unjust and so extreme. I am sorry our Saviour's Action should be mistaken, by those who ought best to have understood it, being so conversant in reading the Scriptures. His Case is no more like that before us, than a Judge's Circuit is like martial Execution. Our Saviour was, tho' unjustly in the main, yet by the usual Form brought to his Trial; which is the Case, tho' in an inferior degree, of many good Men. And as Man he did not resist, out of respect to lawful Authority. Thus People apprehended for Crimes, real or supposed,

supposed, out of Submission to the Laws, do not use to resist, either at their being seized, or tried, or even executed. And as he was God, and an extraordinary Man, he did not resist, because he came to suffer; and to have offered a Miracle to rescue himself, had been to defeat his main Design and Purpose. And then; tho' the Jews his Enemies did maliciously and falsely accuse him; yet *Pilate*, who was his then lawful Judge, proceeded against him by the usual Form of Justice; by hearing both him, and his Accusers, and their Witnesses, and thereupon giving Sentence; tho' against his Judgment. And as for *Tiberius* the supreme Magistrate; he was so far from being against him; that he knew nothing of him then; and when informed of his Life and Death by *Pilate*, communicated it to the Senate, to have had him owned for God, and adored; which the Senate rejected. Above all, our Saviour had no Civil Rights, besides his Life, to defend. He positively declared that *his Kingdom was not of this* Joh. 18 36. *World*: He had no Property at all, but was so very poor, that he was maintained by charitable Luk. 8. 3. *People*: And as for his Life, far from thinking of defending it, he came into the World with design to lose it; and he laid it down freely, no Man forcing him to it. And while he thought the time of his Sufferings not come, he withdrew several times, and escaped, out of the reach of his Enemies; and might have done so longer: But his time being come, he stood it out freely and resolutely, and that the Scripture might be fulfilled, which had foretold, and fix'd the time of his Death. As for *St. Peter*, he forbade him to fight for him, for the same Reason for which he himself did not fight or resist; and because, had he wanted Assistance, yet he wanted no human one; but might have commanded *Legions of An-* Match. 26. *gels*, to defend him. What has such a Case to do 53.

with that of any Man or Men, reduced to Extremity by their Sovereign, as to their Civil Rights, their Laws, their Lives, their Liberties and Fortunes? Can any Man be, as Christ was, the eternal Son of God; the Messias and the Saviour of the World? Can any Man die, in the room of Mankind, to redeem them, by satisfying God's Justice for them? Is any Man's Death, to that purpose, foretold in Scripture? Not at all. Therefore it plainly appears that Christ's Case is not applicable to this purpose. And yet Sermonisers will alledge and press it, as a Pattern of unlimited universal Non-resistance to Higher Powers, be they never so arbitrary and so tyrannical. We are not, say they, to resist the Civil Power, no not to defend our Saviour's Person and Life; and much less, therefore, to defend any thing else, even our own; it being of far less Value and Consequence. And yet these very Men in the same breath; comparing the Case of King *Charles* the First, and that of the late King *James*; do unawares confute themselves; by palliating, if not allowing, the Resistance used in the late Revolution; and condemning the whole Proceeding against King *Charles* the First, only upon disparity of Cases; giving one the preference, much above the other: Tho' there can be no difference pertinent to the Case, if their Principles be allowed; for, the Loss which either, or both Kings sustained, is not to be compared to that of the Life of Christ. Thus Men get first into the Briars; and then, caught in the Bush, as the Ram was, which *Abraham* offered in the room of *Isaac*; cannot get out of it; but entangle themselves farther, the more they struggle to get out. Which Inconvenience might have been avoided, by not applying our Saviour's Case, to the Case of ordinary Non-resistance; to which it can never be compared, and is no ways applicable. We are, it is true,

true, bound to imitate our Saviour, in his Vertue, and Holiness of all kinds, as much as we can; especially his Meekness, Humility, Patience, and Resignation; and *to walk as he walked*: But ought ^{Joh. 2.6.} no more to draw a Parallel between his Divine Sufferings to redeem us, and any Human or Civil Sufferings of ours; than to go about to imitate his Omnipotence, his Omniscience, or his miraculous Works.

Next to our Saviour's Example, that of the ^{*That of the Primitive Christians.*} Primitive Christians is urged, in favour of unlimited Non-resistance. For, tho' they were very powerful and numerous under some Emperors; and persecuted in the most violent and cruel manner, yet they never offered to resist; but, when their dutiful Addresses and Apologies proved ineffectual, laid down their Lives contentedly, and with perfect Chearfulness and Resignation. I answer that, for all this, it does not follow, that all Resistance, to the Civil Magistrate, is unlawful. All *that* those pious innocent Men did, we are not bound to imitate, in a strict Sense. They had, at first, all their *Possessions, Lands, and Goods common*, and the Rich *sold all they had, to supply the* ^{Aët. 2. 44, 45.} *Necessities of the Poor*: And yet this, far from being thought universally our Duty now, is, against ^{Ch. 4. 32, 34, 35.} certain Anabaptists, in one of our Articles of Religion, declared not to be so, tho' Charity in general be: For, if *the Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the Right and Title of the same*, then it follows, that we are not bound to give all we have, as the Primitive Christians did. They often unnecessarily denounced themselves to the Civil Magistrates, in Times of Persecution; and perfectly run into the Jaws of Death; contrary to our Saviour's express Command, at least allowance to the contrary; of escaping if they could, and *when they were persecuted in one place, fleeing* ^{Matth. 10.} *into another*. And yet, no Christian, now-a-days, ^{23.}

thinks himself bound to imitate them in the like Case : But they will use all lawful Means to escape and save their Lives, if they can. What those Primitive Men did, in these and the like Instances, might proceed from an extraordinary Zeal, and religious Impulse of God's Spirit : It being God's Pleasure, to propagate Christian Religion at first ; not by the ordinary Means of Argument and Reason, but by the unordinary ones of Blood and Sufferings ; of perfect Indifference to any worldly Enjoyment ; and of a full assurance of a better Life ; which they shewed by being so ready and willing, to sacrifice and lose this. When God shall put such Dispositions, into the Minds of any Christians, they may modestly and resignedly follow them, and be guided by them. Otherwise extraordinary Cases, ought not to be made Precedents and Patterns, for ordinary ones.

Mat. 5. 39.
*Resist not
evil.*

Our Saviour's Prohibition, *Resist not evil*, is thought by some superficial Arguers, fully to prove and establish absolute Non-resistance. But it will be found, upon Examination, to prove nothing at all, to that purpose ; because, if their Interpretation be admitted, it proves too much, and a great deal more than they would have it. Tho' they deny the Lawfulness of Resistance to Civil Powers, even in Cases of Extremity ; yet they allow Wars, especially defensive ones, to be lawful : And yet, if their Argument be good, they must be universally unlawful to Christian Princes, tho' never so justly provoked : For, our Saviour's Prohibition reaches them, as well as their Subjects. The truth is, it has no relation at all ; either to Wars, or Civil Grievances from the Magistrate, and the possible Remedies to them. Our Saviour does only forbid, in that Place, private Revenge and Retaliation ; and the Spirit of Malice in seeking Satisfaction in case of personal Injuries.

Exod. 21. The Law allowed the former, *an eye for an eye* :
24. And

And seemed not to have fully enough forbidden the latter, which our Saviour now does. And this is so plain, that I need not spend any more words about it.

When all other Scriptures fail, St. Paul's Words are, at last produced, in favour of unconditioned Non-resistance: *Whosoever resists the Power, resists the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* Here is, say they, a positive, plain, universal Declaration against Resistance; no Exception is made by the Apostle; and therefore we are not to make any; no, not in the worst and most desperate Case. When I gave the sense of those Words, I did, as much as my Argument would then allow, obviate this Objection. But because it is made, for all that; I will say something farther, fuller, and plainer, in answer to it. I say then, that those Words, are so far from extending to Cases of Extremity and Despair; that, quite contrary, they suppose a good Prince, and who does govern his Subjects, by reasonable and just Means; whom St. Paul says it is universally unlawful to resist; and so say both sides in this Dispute. He had no occasion to consider the Case of Tyranny and arbitrary Power: For, those Hereticks against whom he writ, leap'd over it; and attack'd, even Civil Government in general among Christians; and declaimed against Magistrates, as pernicious at best, and fitted only to do Mischief to their Subjects. St. Paul, to convince them, shews, not only that their Institution is from God; but that it is also of very great Advantage to Men; and describes Princes, not as they often are, unjust and tyrannical, but as they ought to be; namely Rewarders of Virtue, and Punishers of Vice. This is palpable by his Words, *Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the evil: Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have*

St. Paul's
Threat.

praise of the same : Which perfectly give the Idea of a good Prince, *praising the good, and punishing evil doers*, as St. Peter does express it. To have represented the then Emperor *Nero*, in his natural Colours, would have ruined his Design, and furnish'd those Hereticks, with new Reasons against Civil Magistrates. Therefore he speaks of them, as they are in God's Establishment and Design; and as they would be, if they did their Duty. Not as they sometimes are, and as *Nero* was then. For, sure, that profligate Emperor was not a Terror to the evil, and a Protector of the good; but quite contrary: notwithstanding his excepted *Quinquennium*, to which I have given an Answer already. Thus what St. Peter says to the Christians of his Days, *Who is he that will harm you, if you be followers of that which is good?* is not, in a strict Sense, universally true; it being often seen, that the best Men are the most harmed: But it shews how Men ought, and use to carry themselves towards good and harmless People; and that is, not *harm* them, as they *harm* no body: That therefore Innocence is the most likely way, to escape *harm* from others, even the most wicked. By all which, it appears, that St. Paul's Words are not absolute and universal, and therefore cannot, in a fair Construction, be extended to reach the Case in hand; that of Resistance to arbitrary and tyrannical Princes.

1 Pet. 3.
13.

The Author's regard to Scripture.

Having considered and answered all the Places of Scripture; and Examples in Scripture-days or near them; which are produced either for, or against the Lawfulness of Resistance to Sovereigns, in Cases of Extremity and Despair: not out of any favour to either side; or to maintain either of the Opinions; which I did all along declare, I did not undertake to do: But only out of respect to the Word of God; and to free that sacred Book, from the Mis-interpretation, which

I con-

I conceive each side does equally put upon it. I am naturally guided by my Argument, briefly *A Word to the Non-jurors.* to take notice, of the Mistake, which those good and pious, but prepossess'd Gentlemen, do run themselves into; who do not own her Majesty's Title, and refuse to take the Oaths required by Law. They are not only good Men, but generally Men of Learning; and yet, without any ground visible to me, they will thus separate from the State, and make a kind of a civil Schism. For, either they ground their Separation on Scripture, or on Reason; and to think, that they do what they do, out of Humour, or Interest, or any other human Motive, would be groundless, and uncharitable. By their favour then; if they plead any Scripture for what they do, let them, in God's Name, produce it; and we will fairly consider it, and either be convinced; or shew them, that they are in an Error. I hope I have so cleared the Word of God, from deciding either for or against them; that it will be impossible, for them, to find any shelter in that divine Book, for their Separation. And if it is only grounded on Reason, abstracted from Scripture; it can never be in their Power, to assert and justify from it, the continuance of their Disloyalty, at this time of day. Whilst the late King *James* lived, they might colourably plead their Oaths to him; tho' the Plea would not hold, if press'd home. Or in King *William's* Time, they might alledge his pretended Usurpation, for their Excuse; tho' with as little Solidity, as their Oaths before. But now their King is dead, and the pretended Usurper too; and her Majesty's Title is Hereditary, without all doubt, what can they say why they should not relent, and be re-united, and live as easy under the present, as the former Governments? I cannot so much as imagine what they can say to this; unless they fly to, and intrench themselves within
this

this Absurdity, that human Constitutions may be undefeazable, and human Laws irreverfible, and human Ingagements immutable, and unalterable by Men: which being next door to Blafphemy, and attributing to Men what belongs to God alone, and to his Laws and Constitutions; I need not confute any farther.

*Extra-fcri-
ptural Ar-
guments
not confide-
red here.*

And thus much may fuffice, as to the Proofs produced out of Scripture, to decide this Cafe either way. As for Reasons; and either old or modern Extra-fcriptural Examples, for or againft Resistance in the Cafe in queftion; they are be- fides my prefent purpofe. For, not the Lawful- nefs or Unlawfulnefs of Self-defence, and Resi- ftance to Higher Powers, in extreme Cafes: But whether it is allowed or forbidden in Scripture, is the only Queftion I have undertaken to decide: And if the Scripture be filent in the Cafe; the Lawfulnefs or Unlawfulnefs of it, muft ftand on other grounds, and does not fall under my pre- fent Confideration.

*Defenfive
and offen-
five Wars
from Sub-
jects.*

If defenfive Wars, from the Subject againft the Prince, are thus paff in f Silence, by the Scripture; and neither allowed, nor forbidden, and not fo much as fupposed or named, or hinted at, either the one or the other way. Offensive Wars, which are not feldom the Confequence of defenfive ones; muft needs be much more unmentioned: By which, not only a redrefs to Grievances is fought; and the Sovereign complained of fometimes removed, but the very Government often altered from Mo- narchy into a Commonwealth. This laft is a Cafe which, God be praifed, happened but once in this Kingdom, and I hope never will more. Therefore I fhall mention it here no farther, than by barely naming and difcharging.

And now, it might be thought enough, to have thus parted the Scripture, and the Cafe of Resi- ftance; and to have fhewn that this laft muft take Shelter

Shelter and Protection, under something else, either the one or the other way. And to pry into the Reasons, why the Scripture is quite silent in it, may be too bold: It being above Man, to search the Counsels of the All-wise. But, to strengthen my Argument, I will, with Submission, offer some Reasons, which seem to be the Causes of the Scripture-silence in this Case.

First then, I humbly conceive, that the Scripture is silent in it, not mentioning it at all, and deciding it on neither side; because it is, in itself, undecidable *à priori*: The Circumstances which may attend and make up such a Case, being so numerous and so various, as not to admit of an exact and particular Regulation; unless such voluminous *Books* had been *written* about it, *that the World it self could not contain them*, (to use a *Joh. 21.25.* Scripture-expression.) Which Method would have been quite contrary to God's Method in the rest of the Scripture; which is very concise as to Particulars of all sorts, even Historical; names hardly any Cases of any kind; and contents it self to give Generals, both in Matters of Fact, Doctrines, and Rules of Life.

Reasons of the Scripture-silence in this Case. The first.

To be satisfied of this, let us, for Argument's sake, suppose that her Majesty and the High Court of Parliament, should meet solely to regulate the Cases, in which Resistance might be lawful, and those in which it would be unlawful. I dare affirm that, after their being never so long about it; and considering never so attentively and minutely every thing; and enumerating all Cases they could possibly think of, and ranking them under their proper Classes: They would still be put to it, and could not so mention and regulate all; but that some new Circumstance might still arise, which would put, perhaps the very next difficult Case, besides their Definition and Decision. God Almighty, who knew well how short
Man's

Man's Sight is, for such a wide Prospect ; left the thing to be decided *à posteriori* ; that is, provided for, the best way human Prudence can suggest, when it happens. And only gave, in Scripture general Rules of Government, to Princes and Subjects ; how the first should rule, and how the others should obey. Thus establishing Peace all the World over, if those Rules were but observed.

Prerogative
and Proper-
ty some-
times neces-
sarily in-
croach'd up-
on.

Nothing is more common, for Princes to plead, in doubtful Cases, than their Prerogative ; and for Subjects, than their Property. And yet these two very Privileges, tho' so commonly talk'd of, are so far from being settled in all Cases ; that, for all the Rules observed about them, they are often forced to incroach one upon another ; and that too, for their mutual good ; nay often for the very Preservation of the State. I am told, that it is a Branch of the Prince's Prerogative, among us ; that, in case of Danger, a Physician may not administer or prescribe any Remedy to him ; but by the Advice of the Privy Counsel. And yet the Case may be so urgent, as not to admit of a moment's delay ; and the Prince must die, unless immediately relieved. Thus sudden bleeding saved King *Charles* the Second's Life, for some time ; and gave him some Days respite : And yet it was done without such an Advice ; and it had been Cruelty in those about him, to have staid for it. We are informed, by new printed *Memoirs*, that it is High Treason in *Spain*, for a Man not in a place at Court which qualifies him for it, to touch the Body of the Queen. And yet, those same *Memoirs* tell us, that one of the late King's Wives, being on Horse-back, to take the Air ; and the Horse proving unruly, and like to have plunged or run away, to the visible hazard of her Majesty's Life ; two young Gentlemen of Quality, tho' not qualified by Law ; yet, without hesitation, ventured

ventured to stop the Horse, and to take her Majesty down. Was not their Action both Christian and Dutiful? And had it not been barbarous, for them, not to have done what they did, when they could, by it, and no other way, prevent the Mischief? It is true they immediately fled, and made their Escape; knowing that, by the Laws they must die, if tried and judged by it: But, it is also true, that the King did send after them, and gave them his Pardon. Or, to mention a Case which often happens; and was like to have lately happened among us. Suppose, when the Pretender offered to land in *Scotland*, he had landed in some remote Place; and that there had been, neither *Militia* nor regular Forces; neither Military, nor Civil Officers; to order an opposition to him. In strictness of Law, no private Man could raise Men; put them into a posture of Defence; command and marshal them; and head them to fight; for want of a Commission for so doing: especially, no private Man could punish Mutineers or Deserters, in such an *Extempore* Army, when raised; having no lawful formal Power to do it. And yet, can it be doubted, but that such an Action, tho' High Treason in the Letter; yet would be the Duty of any Man, that had but Skill and Management enough, to perform it? That he might raise Forces, Discipline them, lead them to fight, and exercise martial Discipline over them, till superseded by the Prince's Troops? And, the Prince, instead of punishing, would be sure to reward him for it. In these and the like Cases, and many more that may happen, Prerogative is better incroach'd upon, than left untouched and intire.

On the other side; tho' every Subject in the Land, having paid all Duties, by Law to be paid; and done all Suit and Service, by Law required; is Master of himself, and of the rest of his Estate;
and

and no Man has any Right, to attempt or disturb him farther ; yet, in case of a Famine, or a Flood, or any other such publick Calamity : Or in case of the sudden March of an Army, to resist an Invasion. It would be thought no Theft, no Robbery, and no invading of a private Man's Property ; for Men distressed, and wanting either Shelter or Victuals, to use moderately the Provisions they could meet with any where ; and to lodge themselves in such private Houses they could come at, if publick ones were not able to hold them : And, for the Owners, to oppose or refuse them ; would be look'd upon, as barbarous and inhuman ; and we deserve plundering more than pity. Such extraordinary Cases , too numerous and too various, to be all foreseen by Man, or regulated by human Laws ; provide best for themselves ; are impossible to be settled before hand ; and must be left to Necessity ; together with Religion and human Reason and Prudence ; to provide for them when they happen.

The second Reason.

Another Reason, why the Scripture has not decided, and not so much as named Cases of Resistance, seems to be ; because the Decision would have been dangerous, either way ; and might have been made a Pretence to Civil Mischiefs. For, if Self-defence and Resistance to the supreme Magistrate, had been declared lawful, in Cases of Necessity and Despair ; the Cases would often have been supposed, by discontented and restless Men ; by Men of no Fortune, but great Ambition ; unwilling to take Pains, and yet desirous to live in Plenty : Such Men, who can only thrive in Times of Looseness and Confusion ; and only fish in troubled Water ; would, upon every occasion, real or pretended, great or small, have raised Seditions and Rebellions ; by wresting every Case, even tho' but barely difficult, into a hard and desperate one : And thereupon seduced and drawn

drawn innocent and well-meaning, but simple and unwary, Men; especially the unthinking, inconsiderate, Populace; into Civil Wars, and perpetual Commotions. On the other side; if Self-defence had been declared universally unlawful to the Subject: Princes would have little regarded their Duty to God; when their Duty to their Subjects had been no bar to them; and a wide door, to arbitrary Power, would have been open, all the World over. Ill Princes would have been spurred on; and left perfectly loose, to do whatever Ambition, and Lust, could suggest to them. And even good ones, would often have been apt to transgress their just bounds; and to exercise Tyranny, especially on some extraordinary occasion, or great instigation; which Inconveniences are prevented, by the Scripture's utter silence about it. For, thereby, Subjects are kept under, and within their just bounds; and put in fear, lest, even in difficult Cases, they should offend God, by resisting the Prince, his Deputy and Image; and, by that means, prevented from easily supposing their Case to be desperate. And evil Princes have a strong curb over them; and will fear Civil Tumults and Insurrections; which they do not find forbidden in Scripture, in Cases of Necessity: And will be careful, how they oppress their Subjects, for fear the Case should be a desperate one, licensing Resistance. And, even the best Princes, will heartily thank God, for being silent in the matter; and have a ready Answer to any insinuating Favourite or Flatterer, that would whisper to them the least Excess in their Power: By telling them, that Resistance, not being universally forbidden in Scripture, may be justly provoked, by what is advised; and that, therefore, they ought not, and will not do it. And whilst both King and People are thus afraid of the Case; they will be upon their guard; and do nothing, that may bring it upon them. 5 This

*The Church
of England
follows the
Scripture.*

This silence of Scripture, as to Cases of Necessity and Despair; and its neither allowing nor condemning them; is piously imitated by the Church of *England*, in her Articles, Canons, Homilies, and other Records of her Faith, Worship, and Discipline. For, she presses, in general, Obedience to Princes, as our Saviour and his Apostles do; and exempts no Order of Men from it: She earnestly exhorts them all against Rebellion and Resistance, in the words of *St. Paul*; even on pain, not only of temporal Punishment, but also of *eternal Damnation*. But she goes no farther; provides, no way, for Cases of utter Despair; is willing to hope, such never will happen: Heartily prays for *Kings* and *Queens*; that they may rule in the Fear of God, and be *nursing Fathers* and *nursing Mothers* to their Subjects: And that their Subjects may carry themselves, as dutiful Children towards them. Thus I do understand our Church's Expressions about Civil Obedience; and thus, I hope they are understood, and taken, by all her true Members.

If. 49. 23.

CHAP. V.

The Conclusion.

*Scripture-
silence in-
structive*

TO return to the Scripture. Tho' it be altogether silent, as to the Case before us: yet that very silence is instructive, and, in great measure teaches, and directs, all Men, to whom it may happen; either how to prevent it; or how to get out of it, best and safest, whenever it shall happen. Men are either Writers and Speakers; or Readers and Hearers; which is the Case of all Subjects, one way or another; or Sovereigns; either Kings, or Queens, or other supreme Magistrates. I will bestow the rest of my Discourse, in pointing out to them,

them, how the silence of the Scripture, in this case, ought, severally, to guide and to direct them.

And first, Writers and Speakers, chiefly public ones, should, by all means, imitate the Scripture; especially the Clergy, who ought best to understand it: they should write and speak, about this nice Subject, either not at all, or but sparingly and cautiously: keep always to the Scripture; offer at no bold Explications of it; and make no Suppositions or Decisions beyond it; *intruding into those things which they have not seen, and vainly puffed up by their fleshly mind.* Who forces them to speak or to write at all? However; to speak or write beyond the Scripture? They say they are engaged in the Dispute: But, who engaged them? Could they not have let that Controversy alone; and imployed their Tongues and Pens, on some more useful Subject? Speaking and writing too wide in the Prince's behalf, is Flattery and Design; and carries strong Indications, of Preferment, expected from it. And speaking and writing too narrow against him, is as much Flattery and Design on the other side; and carries as strong Indications, of popular Favour, hoped to be gained by it: And either way it is abusing and wresting the Scripture, to a sense, by the holy Pen-men never intended.

The sad Tragedy of the last Civil Wars, is still fresh in People's minds; and some, that saw the very beginning of them, are yet in being. And the Heralds of them, were rash and hot-headed Writers and Preachers: And they begun the same way; by misinterpreting the Scriptures; and applying them to their sinister Designs. It is true, some Civil Grievances were then complained of; tho' they were, at worst, but very inconsiderable: But for all this, the Scripture should not have been brought into the Quarrel, and made to say, what it said not. However, not so much as the least

*To Writers
and Speakers.*

Col. 2. 18.

The last Civil Wars occasioned by them.

thing of that kind, can be pretended now ; her Majesty's Reign being mild, almost to a Fault, if any Mildness can be one ; and her Subjects of all Sects, Parties, and Principles, having had as much granted them, as they have hitherto desired. What would they have more ? And is this a time of day, to mention the Case of Self-defence, when there is not the least occasion for it ? To be hot and busy in writing and speaking against *Passive Obedience*, when there are no *Civil Sufferers* of any kind ? or for *Resistance*, when there is not the least Civil Injury offered, and the least Civil Evil, that Men should *resist*.

The last Revolution no Cloak to Anti-monarchical Principles.

We know the last happy Revolution, is eternally in some People's mouths, as a very fresh Case. And we know as well, that her Majesty's most loyal Subjects, the Members of the Church of *England*, do, of all Men, most thankfully remember it daily ; especially on the 5th of *November*, famous for two signal Deliverances, wrought on it, by God, for this Church and State. But, it ought not, for all that to be made a Cloak for Anti-monarchical Principles ; which are treasonable in this Kingdom ; as Anti-republican are in Commonwealths. Unless some Men would have the Form of this noble Government altered from a Monarchy into a Republick ; which, I am afraid, is at the bottom of their Writings and Speeches.

The Church of England no Favourer of Popery.

The Church, indeed, is accused of favouring the Pretender ; but upon what grounds ? The Non-jurors have made a Schism from her ; and, will no more communicate with us, than with the Dissenters. And Church-men have readily taken the Oath of Abjuration ; which is a demonstrative Evidence, that they do not favour him, since they abjure him. Let the Dissenters, but abjure as formally and plainly, the Principles, of the Lawfulness of King-killing ; and the Rebellion of 1640—1660, by religiously keeping the 30th of *January*, every

every year, as by Law enjoined; and then the Noise and Clamour, will, of it self, fall to the ground. Till then, let all indifferent and impartial Men judge, on which side the fault lies; who is a false Accuser, and who is not. Above all things, let us all remember, who favoured Popery, in the last Popish Reign? Who broke the then standing Laws, by using an illegal Indulgence? Who neither writ Books, nor preach'd Sermons, against the Church of *Rome*? Even the Dissenters of all sorts. And, on the other side, who was sent to the Tower, for modestly remonstrating against a Popish illegal Declaration? Who was suspended, for refusing to condemn, without examining and trying? Who was silenced, for preaching smartly against Popery? Who writ so many excellent Books against it, that the like Body of Anti-popish Divinity, is not to be seen, at this day, in any Protestant Nation? Who refused to read, the then King's illegal Declaration, in Churches? Who was turned out of their Colleges and Livings, for refusing to give way to Popery? Even our Bishops, our Clergy, and our University-men. These things are so fresh, and so well known, as to put the thing out of dispute; who is a Favourer to Popery and the Pretender, and who is not. And see now, whether there is any just motive of any kind, to bandy about with so much eagerness the Case of Resistance, on the one side; when the late long Rebellion, may however, give still a just alarm to the other; because, what has so lately been acted, may be acted again; especially when the very same Principles are still entertained, that brought about that sad Confusion. But, tho' the balance be unequal, and much heavier on the one side, than on the other: I do freely and impartially blame, at this time, a Writer or Speaker of any side; who is busy, in mentioning Resistance at all (unless in general Terms with the Scripture) and, either li-

cenſing, or condemning it; and endeavouring to countenance and prove his Decisions from that ſacred Book; which is ſo utterly ſilent, about any private Caſe relating to it.

The Miſchief of writing or ſpeaking about this Caſe.

They do by ſuch a Method not only offer violence to the Word of God; but do, beſides, a great deal of harm, even where they leaſt deſign it. A Writer or a Speaker ſtops, when and where he thinks fit: But the miſchief done by his Writing or Speech, proves often a deep wound, that can never, or very hardly be cured. The beſt and wiſeſt Statesmen are often put to a ſtand, they know not what to do; and which way to go, about providing for ſome Accidents and Caſes; they are ſo difficult and ſo knotty. And theſe umbratile Combatants, with a ſtroke of the Pen; with a breath of the mouth; with a Paragraph or a Period, cut and decide all at a blow, and turn the World upſide down, by their unneceſſary, unexiſtent, Caſes; raſh and precarious Suppoſitions; and unproved, and falſe Decisions. It becomes the Law to put a ſtop to this growing evil; by quite ſilencing all Writers and Speakers on thoſe Subjects; upon ſevere Penalties, if they ſhall print any thing of that kind, unlicensed by Authority; or publicly ſpeak any thing, tending to warm Men's Brains, and foment or revive our Civil Animofities and Diſcords.

The Author's honourable Deſign in writing.

Had there been ſuch a Law ſtrictly obſerved; I would never have given my ſelf, the trouble of writing, nor the Publick, that of reading this Diſcourſe. I do not publiſh it, out of any human view or proſpect; I have neither private hope, nor fear, to ſerve by it; my name ſhall not ſo much as be known, if I can prevent it; and if any Answer be returned; I do declare I will not reply to it; and if what I have ſaid, out of a diſinterreſted Zeal for Church and State, does not ſatisfy ſome ſorts of Men; I leave them to God, and their own Conſciences.

Consciences. My only Design, is to put the Fire out, if I can, by throwing Water into it; not to increase it, by pouring in Oil, as too many do, by their scribbling and speeching; not caring what becomes of the Publick, and what mischief they do the Nation, by their Injections and Ferments; provided their mean private Ends, of Lucre, Interest, or Preferment, be obtained. And if I fall short of my Christian, Loyal, and Pious Design; I shall comfort my self, as I have often done in other Cases; that, tho' *I have laboured in vain, and spent my strength for nought; yet, surely, my judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.* Is. 49. 4.

And so much may suffice, upon this Head. Writers and Speakers are a formidable Body; and a single, tho' never so well armed Man, ought to be cautious, how he does encounter such a multitude.

As to Readers and Hearers, the far greater number of the People: Tho, what I said to Writers and Speakers, may, in great measure, reach them, and be useful to them; yet I have something farther to offer, which belongs to them, in a particular manner. *The Scripture-silence instructive to Readers and Hearers.*

They should then, by the Example of Scripture, not entertain themselves, with Discourses one with another, or with reading Books, in which this desperate Case is put before hand; but prevent it by their willing and ready Obedience, and by their quiet Submission to Authority; most excellent ways to please God, and a good gracious Sovereign; and even to melt the hearts of ill Princes: And by their hearty Prayers to God, in the behalf of all Magistrates; *that, under their Administration, they may lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all Godliness and Honesty.* They should reap the benefit of a serene and good Reign, instead of raising mists to darken it. Never think, before hand, of Cases of Necessity, which provide best for themselves when they happen. To anticipate Cases of Necessity *This Case improperly talked of.*

(which, according to the Proverb, has no Law) is very unkindly and unskilfully done. It will be time enough to decide them, when they come: And too soon, by much, to decide them, before they come; which may not come, and which, when they come, often admit of no Consultation, or Reason, or Measures; and can have, no Law, or Rule prescribed them. This is the same unnecessary and preposterous vexation of Spirit; as if a Son should think, and determine before-hand, how he may resist his Father, and take Arms against him, if he should attempt his Life, or go about to ruin him: who, he ought rather, dutifully, to hope and presume, will never give him any such occasion. Or, if a Daughter should lamentably resolve and determine, to oppose her Father, and use Force and Resistance against him; whenever he shall offer violence to her Chastity: Whereas, of all Men, she ought least to expect such a Treatment, from him. Just such *Heautontimorumenoi*, Self-tormenters are Subjects; who busy and afflict themselves, before-hand, with Cases of Necessity, by Oppression from the Prince; from whom they ought rather to expect Kindness and Protection.

Unless it
be to mend
occasions of
it.

They would be much more kind, both to themselves and the publick, in following a Rule given them, by one of the Advocates in a late famous Trial: That Cases of Extremity, ought never to be under consideration, but by way of *Retrospect*, and when the danger is over. The People ought then to thank God that it is so; and consider what might, on their side, give occasion to the escaped evil; and firmly resolve to mend it, and, by that means, prevent another trial of the like nature. And, if honest and true *Brittains* would thus, at their leisure-hours; instead of anticipating Civil Wars in their minds; seriously consider, that one great cause of the late long one was owing to this very fault; that the People, then, were too busy, in talking, and
reading

reading Books, of Politicks and State-affairs: They would, by that ill Example, take warning; and not be so inquisitive and so meddling, in a thing which is far above their reach. Business of State is, of all others, uneven and difficult. It requires good Heads, great Knowledge of the World, and consummated Wisdom, to manage it safe and well.

And, for all this, the best Politicians, will sometimes run after a false scent; and cannot help mistakes, in some Cases and Measures. And if it be so even with them; how can the common People be able to examine and pry into them; to settle, adjust, and order them; who are altogether unprovided, of Talents required for that purpose?

The old *Greeks*, even at this distance, are great *Greeks*, Monitors to us, of this Nation. They *spent their* Act. 17. 21. *time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear, some* Examples to us. *new thing*, as St. Paul observes, of the *Athenians*, in his days. They loved nothing so well, as to talk of State-affairs; and entertain themselves with Politicks; and with foreign, and domestick News. By which Fancy, and Humour, they were at last undone; in being too easy to hearken to their Orators, whose Harangues did generally run on Peace and War; on the Civil Interests of the Citizens one with another, and with their neighbouring States. For, these Rhetors, by their Orations, as by Winds veering and blowing from several Quarters, moved the People which way they would; commonly raised Wars, not only with their Enemies, but even with their Friends and Neighbours: And at last caused their utter Subjection, first to the *Macedonians*, and afterwards to the *Romans*.

News, especially about State-affairs, are dangerous, for the People to fill their Heads withal. News, dangerous to the People. They are often, by them, disturbed and heated; made uneasy and discontented; not being able to digest them, by understanding Reasons of State; which may be very wise and prudent, tho' some-

times they may not appear so. Young Conjurers like, which are terrified by their own Charms and Apparitions; and cannot lay the Spirit which they have raised.

*License in
writing
News.*

It is not my business, to find fault with the Indulgence given to many, to write and publish News; and to make them universally known, to all sorts of Persons. Secrets of State are thereby, often, prostituted: And the great Licence in this Point, gave a late witty Poet occasion to make a Jest of the Nation; and, among other empty things, to reckon *English Policy*. But, to let the common Custom go on: It were, however, to be wish'd, that it was possible and practicable, to lay a Tax on reading, and even hearing News; especially about State-affairs, and Government. It would, either keep abundance of People quiet; or raise a great aid, towards the charge of an expensive War.

*Advice to
the People
talking of
State-affairs.*

Davila mentions a Saying of *Henry* the Third, King of *France*; which might do a great deal of good to the common People, if they would but attend to it. In his time, the State was much in confusion at home, by Civil Factions and Leagues: yet, he was importuned to declare War against the *Spaniards*; and at last, in a manner, forced to it, contrary to his own Judgment; who best knew the Condition of his Kingdom, too weak then, for such an Enterprize. However, he told them who urged him, and among the rest the City of *Paris*, that he would yield to their Request; but then that they must freely supply him with Money, to enable him to make War with Honour. He begun the War accordingly; but, for want of a proportionable Assistance, had no Success in it, but rather Disadvantage. And one day that Cardinal *de Guise*, and the Provost of Merchants of *Paris* (much the same Magistrate there, as the Lord Mayor of *London*, here) complained to him, of some Losses sustained

stained by the War. *You should then, have been quiet,* answered he with Indignation, *and consented to enjoy the sweet of Peace; instead of meddling with the War, and forming the Project of it, in a Shop, or in a Quire.* Put but the words *Coffee-house,* and *Ale-house* or *Tavern,* instead of the two last, in that King's angry Repartee; and you have a just Notion, of the Disposition, in which the minds of the People are, commonly, in this Nation. Instead of minding their domestick Affairs and their Trade; which often are much out of order; they will talk of the Government; regulate State-affairs; manage the War; beat the Enemy; make Peace; remove the Ministry; set up one of their own making; find fault with Queen and Parliament, with Church and State: In short, espy publick but imaginary mores, in every thing about them; and not see the private but real beams, in their way, which, not seldom, make them stumble, and give them sad Falls, by Poverty, being arrested, or breaking.

If instead of this they would say their Prayers; work at their Trade; mind their Traffick; learn Frugality; keep within compass; and not so inconsiderately contract Debts, by spending their time from home, and in Publick Houses. Especially, if they would abstain, in their Reading and Discourses, from that Topick, generally un-understood by them, State-affairs; and piously imitate the Scripture-silence, as to Cases of Resistance. Their Lives would be more quiet, more comfortable, and more plentiful, than generally they are: They would be more serviceable to the Government; and make better Subjects, and better Christians.

Having thus put the Scripture, to Subjects of all sorts; as a fine crystal Glass, to behold themselves in, and to rule their Conversation by; as to the Case of Resistance; I beg leave of Majesty; the Kings and Queens, the Princes and Potentates of the

Pf. 82. 6.

the World; to do the same to them. And (tho' they be *Gods* upon Earth, and so called in Scripture) that they will not take it ill, if I humbly remind them of what their supreme King and Lord, even the God of Heaven and Earth, does recommend to their imitation, in his divine Proclamation, the Scripture.

Kings chiefly advised by the Scripture-silence.

They are the Persons, whom the Scripture-silence, in this matter, does chiefly instruct: And, if their Parts were exactly performed, the very Case would be rased, and expunged, out of the Records of Men. It cannot subsist, but by supposing their Male-administration, even to great excess: And, if they would do what in them lyes, to govern by the Scripture-rules; there would be no Male-administration; and no Case built upon it could be supposed, or so much as imagined. The Design of Scripture in not mentioning such a Case, is, that there should be no such Case in the World; thro' the just and gentle Administration of Princes. And, if they did rule justly and equally; and any one should inquire, into the Insufficiency of their Laws, and Constitutions: And alledge against them, that no Provision is made in them, against arbitrary Kings; as there is against disobedient and rebellious Subjects; no, not in their very fundamental Charter, the Bible; even the New Testament. They might readily answer with the *Spartan* Matron; who being ask'd what Punishment the Laws of her Country (which she had much commended) inflicted on Adulteresses; first ask'd, what that word meant; and, upon its being explained, answered gravely, that there were no such Women at *Lacedemon*; and that therefore, their Laws had not decreed any Punishment against them. So Kings would nobly and majestically answer to such an Objection. It is below a Prince to be arbitrary; there are no Tyrants in the World; and therefore, neither the Scripture, nor the Law

Law of the Land, have provided for such a Case. Thus a great Prince, who, at the beginning of the Reformation, headed a number of poor Protestants; and rather lessened himself, than got any Advantage by it; being told, that his Enemies laugh'd at him, and that he might have been much more absolute elsewhere, had he followed the stronger Party. *I am absolute enough*, said he, *I do whatever I please, because I never do any thing, but what I ought to do.*

To come to Particulars. Kings and Princes are taught, by the Scripture-silence, as to this Case. First, that arbitrary Power, the only cause of such a Case, was not intended by God Almighty to be vested in them, and within their Administration. Had it been so, absolute and boundless Obedience in the Subject, must have been the necessary consequence of it, and Resistance absolutely forbidden. But God was so far from making his Lieutenants, Kings and Emperors, arbitrary; that he never was so himself, and shewed the contrary in all his Actions. His infinite Holiness, Goodness, and Justice, ^{Arbitrary Power above Men;} ever tied his hands from doing any thing opposite ^{Not used even by God.} to them; and made him, even in his most severe dealings with the Sons of Men, shew Forgiveness, Mercy, and Loving-kindness: And he never so much as once departed from this Maxim; no, not when provoked to the utmost, by their Sins. Thus the Flood spared *Noah* and his Family; and by him the Race of Mankind was preserved. *Lot*, with his Wife and Daughters, was suffered to go out of *Sodom*, and to escape the Flames of it. The *Canaanites* were not all destroyed, but many remained for a long time. And, tho' *Judea* lyes waste, and old *Jerusalem* is not; yet vast numbers of *Jews* are suffered to be scattered up and down, over the Face of the Earth. Let some rigid Divines think and say what they please, about God's Power; and affirm, that God may, if he will, make eternally miserable,

ferable, even innocent Men. For my part, I can no more fear infinite Cruelty from infinite Goodness; than a second universal Flood from the Sun; or a general Conflagration from the Waters. And if the *Almighty* himself hath all along governed, and does still govern, both the World and his Church, by rational, just, and merciful Laws; shall Man, who at most is but *mighty*, dare to attempt what God disclaims? God forbid.

*Christian
Princes ar-
bitrary most
to blame.*

Christian Princes in particular, should, by all means, mind this divine Maxim, instead of assuming to be above it. A *Christian*, especially a *most Christian* King arbitrary, is a contradiction *in terminis*, and the last Epithet destroys the former. *Solomon*, that potent and wise King; had he lived under the Gospel; would not have bestowed on him such a Title; since he compares the Tyrants of his time, to Lions and to Bears. *As a roaring Lion, and a ranging Bear, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor People.*

Prov. 28.
15.

Gen. 11. 9.

Prov. 29.

14.

Men's Ladders are too short, to scale Heaven; and the first thing we hear, when they go about it, is *Confusion*, as at *Babel*; and tumbling down like the old Giants. Whereas *the King that faithfully judges the Poor, his Throne shall be established for ever?* See the mistake of Man, about ruling. Usurped Power, which seems to elevate Kings, brings them down; and Faithfulness, Goodness, and Mercy, those seemingly low and abject Vertues, do raise them up to the highest. Here we have in Little, and in Miniature, the Pictures of two high Powers, Neighbours to the *Atlantick* Sea. The one growing daily less, by aiming at more Power: The other growing greater and greater, by setting aside the Sword and Thunder; and providing a shelter for Subjects, and Neighbours; to cover them from Winds and Storms.

*The Case of
Conquest.*

Even in case of absolute Conquest, the utmost that can be supposed: The *Conqueror* is bound, both by Reason and Religion, to be just and merciful; to make wise and rational Laws; and to govern by them,

them. Otherwise he goes beyond the *Creator* of the World ; who, tho' he has more Right over Men, than any *Conqueror* can have over the Conquered ; yet never prescribed any thing to rational Creatures, but what was agreeable to Reason ; and had, in it, the visible Stamp : not only of strict Justice ; but even of Loving-kindness, Gentleness, and Mercy. And if the *Conqueror* is thus bound, by the Example of the *Creator* ; much more are his Successors ; who, tho' they may have the same Subjects, and the same Right, and Power over them ; however did not give them the first Laws ; but found them made to their hands, by their Predecessor, and first Founder of the Monarchy. But most of all, Princes are bound, to govern their Subjects, *Law of the Land, Rule to Princes.* by the Laws of that Land, over which they rule ; when they find these Laws enacted and settled long before, by a mix'd Power : That of their Royal Predecessors, as potent, by Laws as they can possibly be ; and that of the People under them, by their Representatives in the Senate, no ways, in Law, freer, than the now People are. This is a new tye which binds them ; and if notwithstanding, they *break it as a thread* ; they are a Riddle, and a Paradox, even in *Solomon's Judgment*, the great *Judg. 16. 9.* Explainer of Riddles ; and an exception to his Maxim, that a *threefold Cord is not quickly broken.* *Eccl. 4. 12.* Thus is arbitrary Power destroyed, by that which, some think, does most support it ; even by the Scripture-silence, as to the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of Resistance to Princes, in Cases of Extremity.

A second Lesson to Higher Powers, given them *Favourites.* by the Scripture-silence, in the Case before us, is ; that they should have no Favourites of Fondness, as God has none ; but look on all good Subjects with Love, in proportion to their several ranks and degrees of Service ; and use them accordingly upon occasion. God's Grace is open to all Christians : His preventing Grace is universal, to every one of them ;

them; and his farther Grace is proportionably bestowed, on them, who use the first. Therefore his absolute Decrees, of eternal Election and Reprobation of Individuals, with respect to another State; are justly look'd upon, by all good Men, as the fond Dreams of Enthusiasts; who would engross Heaven to themselves; and arbitrarily exclude all others out of it. And, if God has no such Favourites; a wise Prince ought to look upon them, as forbidden things; good for nothing but to ruin him and his People; and to turn Peace and Quiet out of the World.

All good Subjects to be encouraged; all ill ones to be punish'd.

Higher Powers therefore ought to encourage Vertue wherever found, in their Subjects; and punish Vice and Sin in them, whenever committed. St. Peter says they are sent by God, as *Governours* are by them, *for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* And tho' the particular proportion of Rewards be left to their Judgment and Prudence; and the strict Severity of Punishments may have grains of allowance, mix'd with it, upon occasion, to allay and mollify it: yet, in the main, the Rule is divine; and Fondness or Passion, on either side, is intirely excluded by the Apostle. And, besides the Injustice and Unreasonableness of the thing, in doing what God does not; nothing can be more prejudicial to a Prince, than partial Favour to some few, or as partial Severity to others. The Subjects of a State, are like the several Climates of the World. They should, all, have the Influence, and kind Aspect, of the Politick and Civil Sun; more or less, according to their different Positions and Situations to it; and, even the remotest, feel, in some measure, the benign Rays of that glorious Star. And, as in Nature, Places, where the Sun seldom or never shines, are like to be destitute of Inhabitants; or but indifferently peopled and thriving: so, when Subjects, even the meanest, shall find no regard, and no kindness

kindness from the Sovereign; their Allegiance and Loyalty is likely to be chilled, and barren, in proportion. But where the Smiles of Civil Rulers are universal; and reach even the smallest and meanest of Subjects: when Encouragement is given to all Deservers and Endeavourers, according to their Deserts and Endeavours: There will be a kind of an Emulation, throughout their Dominions, who shall most readily honour, obey, and serve such Rulers. On the other side, as universal utmost Severity may be too dreadful and too inflexible; so may partial Lenity; Clemency not well timed; and Forgiveness in a wrong place, or to a wrong Person, give a just Offence to those, who see it tasted by others, and do not taste it themselves. Forgiving Malefactors condemned to death, or deserving *Acts of* it; or liable to be tried for their Lives, ought to be *Grace.* more the Consideration of publick Advantage or Disadvantage; than of private Regard and Affection in the Prince. *Jonathan's* Life was spared by *1 Sam. 14* *Saul*, at the *Intercession of the People*: And *Abiathar's* *45.* by *Solomon*, for his former *Loyalty to David*. A *1 King. 2.* Man's undeserved Life may, sometimes, do more *26.* good to the Government hereafter; than his deserved Death can, now. A numerous Family, or many Dependents, may be Sufferers, by one Man's Death; which, perhaps, is insignificant to the Publick. Sometimes a great Man is better saved than punish'd, with relation to the Government: And, generally, in Civil Insurrections, the greatest number is pardoned, and the Heads only punish'd, tho' all deserve Punishment; to prevent the like Attempts another time; and yet not give too great a wound to the Commonwealth, by the loss of such a multitude. Many other Cases there may be, in which Clemency is best and safest used. But when the weight of Power falls heavy any where; and Lives are, either taken away for Anger or Revenge, tho', in the main, not against Justice; or spared,

by Prerogative, out of personal Fondness, private Interest, and Regard ; especially at a Grandee's Intercession, perhaps moved by his private Ends, or the bought Solicitation, of a Servant, or a Retainer : Tho' the secret Spring may be unknown, sometimes to the Courtier, and often to the Prince.

Yet, such Examples of Partiality, either real or apparent ; give often those just Disgusts, to such as do not think themselves equally used, by such a Severity or Indulgence ; which may, in time be remembered, to the great danger of the Prince, and the Publick too. For which Reasons, Higher Powers cannot be too cautious, and too considerate, in the various and several Administration of Justice ; of Punishment on the one hand, and of Rewards on the other : That neither of them in their kind, may partake of Extremity ; but be kept within just bounds, and kind regard, both to the Publick, and to every particular Subject. And so much against improper Favourites, and improper Severities and Favours.

Flatterers.

Flatterers, mercenary Writers, and the like, ought justly to be rank'd with forbidden Favourites, and quite discountenanced by wise Princes : As only proper to corrupt their Principles ; to encourage their mistaken Greatness ; and, at the long run, to ruin them. They are the Boutefeus and Incendiaries of the World ; and the worst of Enemies, in that they destroy the Prince, with seeming Kindness. Therefore a Prince ought, by all means, to frown upon them, and cannot keep them at too great a distance. A merry Nation on the other side the Water, have a Saying on this Subject, which tho' express'd in a familiar way, has, yet, a great deal of real truth in it. *Epistles Dedicatory, to the Prince*, say they, *smell of a Pension or an Abbey*. Put but the words *Place of Honour or Profit*, instead of *Abbey*, which are destroyed in Protestant Kingdoms ; and you have the

the lively Picture of a Court-flatterer. He may appear in several Shapes and Figures, but still, in all, his Interest is what he chiefly aims at. Sometimes he will commend all the Qualities the Prince has, both good and bad; or those he has not, as if he had them; either behind his back, or to his face. Sometimes he writes Verse or Prose to the Praise of the Prince, and of his great Actions, tho' many of them may be otherwise: And often descends even to the commending of what he does but indifferently. Thus I heard of a King, who is not very dexterous at Tennis; that having placed a Ball in the Court, but ordinarily; yet he was generally applauded by the Courtiers in the Gallery: They all exclaimed *excellently well done*, lift up their Eyes and Shoulders, in sign of admiration: And the Prince himself was pleased, and did smile. This was but Flattery in Picture, and Mistake in a Trifle. But when it is in good earnest, and in a thing of moment; the Poison is mortal, and the Prince like to be intoxicated by it. Solomon was for removing such Creatures from Courts, like the dross and scum of them. *Take away the dross from* Prov. 25: *Silver, and there shall come forth a Vessel, from the 4. & finer: Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be establish'd in Righteousness.* And he declares that *if a Ruler hearkens to Lyes, all* Prov. 29: *his Servants are wicked.* The wisest of Kings gives ^{12.} the Text; and I leave it, to all wise Princes, to make a Commentary upon it.

Another Lesson, of the greatest moment, given *Magistrates* to the Higher Powers, by the Scripture-places ^{bound to} which mention Civil Government, and yet are ab- ^{read the} *Scripture* solutely silent, about the Case of Resistance, is; that they are loudly warned in them, to study and understand their Power, aright: And, in order to it, ought to read often their Patent the Scripture: For, it is from that Charter, that they have all their Power, and are what they are. There they will
G find,

find, that they are but the *Ministers of God*, for the good of his People; which were his People before they were the Princes; whom therefore they are bound to govern, first by God's Laws; then by the Laws of the Land; two golden Rules which ought to direct them. *Jehoshaphat*, that great and good King, was sensible of these important Truths; and he gave accordingly Instructions to the Judges, whom he set in all the Cities of Judah. Take heed what ye do; for ye judge not for Man, but for the Lord, who is with you in the Judgment. Wherefore now, let the Fear of the Lord be upon you: Take heed and do it; for, there is no Iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of Persons, nor taking of Gifts. The Charge given by that King to his Judges, is given by God Almighty to all Kings: And, I hope, none will refuse to be advised, by a King their Equal; and by God their King and Lord-paramount.

2 Chr. 19.
5, 6, 7.

Kings are
but She-
pherds.

Isa. 44.28.

It is astonishing that some supreme Powers should be so mistaken as to their Office; looking upon it, as a kind of an absolute Dictatorship; when, in the strict, and real truth of the thing, they ought to be more like Schoolmasters to Children, and like *Shepherds* to Sheep; for, so the Scripture calls them. Noble Slaves indeed, but still Slaves; to Rules, and to the Tempers, Humours, and Dispositions of their Subjects, considered in their Civil Capacities. And, had *Quevedo* writ a Vision on this Subject; without all doubt, he would have related things, as I do here represent them.

How diffi-
cult a thing
they under-
take.

It is a heavy Burthen which they take upon them, and a difficult thing which they are to perform. In the State of Innocence, it would have been no hard task to have ruled Men. But to do it in the State of Sin and Misery, of Passions and Mistakes; is a Province, which even an Angel incarnate would deprecate; and chuse rather to obey than to command, as things are in this sublunary World. But this Consideration is not the chief. One, far greater,

ter, comes behind, and that is, the great Account; either comfortable or terrible, they are one day to make, before God's last and dreadful Tribunal; much more formidable, than any, even the greatest and highest Court of Justice, in any of their Dominions, can be. This is enough, to a reflecting and well-judging Mind, to incline them all to lay down their Scepters and Crowns, for fear; as *Dioclesian* did formerly, and the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth not long ago, for quiet and ease. And if *Diogenes*, that teller of downright Truth, had been ask'd the Question, what he thought of Kings; he would have answer'd, that he look'd on good Princes, to be daring Men; but on wicked ones, to be more daring, and even bold and desperate.

And yet Ambition; that swelling of the Mind, *Ambition;* that *Morbis Regius*, that Cataract over the Eyes of *and its cure?* some Princes; will not let them perceive the Peril; or gives, to every thing about them, a false colour; a poor and a despicable shape; which yet, generally, is far otherwise. Where is an able Surgeon to lance this Tumor, and to let out this Wind? Where the Specifick to cure this Civil Jaundice? Where the able Oculist to couch right this Film, and restore sight to the Blind? Even a bare change of Fancy and Opinion, can work this marvellous Cure; when it shall please God, by some seeming Accident, directed and guided by his Providence, to bring it into practice. And if we have seen in our days, a whole Nation, universally given to Duels, and fond of them almost to madness; and who had placed the highest Point of Honour in them, and given so barbarous unnatural Rules about them; which yet seemed to them the highest pitch of Courage and Generosity: If we have seen them, change their Minds, on a sudden, and look upon that Practice, as a base villainous Act, fit only for the refuse of the People: Barely because their dreaded and inexorable Prince would abso-

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lutely

lutely have it so ; and because they must be utterly undone ; and lose both their Estates and their Lives ; if they persisted in that murdering brutal Custom. When, by some happy turn of God's hand, Princes shall see things as they are : That is, Pride to be a mean Passion ; Ambition a Civil Tympany ; Usurpation of Towns and Countries, a superlative Piece of Larceny and Thieving ; Oppression of Subjects, perfect Cruelty and Inhumanity. Especially the Dangers which often tread at the heels of these, in this World ; and will infallibly pursue and overtake them, in another. Then a right Opinion, and a just Estimate of Things will follow ; the Fancy will be changed ; and Justice and Truth, those poor despicable things now, be in vogue, both with Kings and Subjects.

Thus have I laid, before Christian Princes, the several Speeches the Scripture makes to them, in its profoundest silence, as to the Case of Resistance.

*III Princes.
Luk. 18. 2,
Advised by
the Scri-
pture-
silence.*

As for those who are not Christians ; or, if they be, are so only by name, but in their hearts neither *fear God* nor *regard Man*, like the Judge in the Parable. Yet they may have Christian Subjects ; and, in that respect, be concerned in the Scripture-silence, about the Resistance of Subjects, in Cases of Extremity. For, since that Book, tho' disregarded by them, yet is look'd upon, as a Rule of moral Actions, by Christians ; many of whom are, or may be their Subjects : And that, if it does not allow Resistance to them, it does not absolutely forbid it neither. They ought, for that very reason, if for no other, be afraid of an enraged, unruly, unrestrained multitude ; and dread, like Rocks under Water, the driving their Subjects to Extremity. A wise Sailor, when he comes near such Rocks, or but guesses he may be near them, sails by them slowly, or casts Anchor ; especially in a Storm, or in the Night, or misty Weather ; for fear of being, in a moment, dash'd

in pieces, beyond Recovery. So a wise Prince will do, by the bulk of his Subjects; be cautious not to provoke them; and, if he finds them ready to shew their Heads, appease them immediately, by redressing their Grievances; and, by no means, add one ill usage to another, and drive them to Necessity and Despair. I say Necessity and Despair, those bold and dangerous Guides, which make Men fling themselves down a Precipice, to avoid an imminent Danger; and leap out of high Windows into paved Streets, to escape raging Flames: Which made a *Roman* Matron stab her self, for being extremely injured in her Person: And a *Roman* Father stab his Daughter, to prevent her being made a Slave, and a Prostitute: And which forces Men to blow up neighbouring Houses to stop a running Fire, and to destroy Destruction with Destruction: Which, in ordinary Cases, would be thought Madness, or a capital Crime; but in Extremity is connived at, or allowed.

The Kings of the East are sad Examples, of the Dangers Princes may be in, from a seditious Multitude. They are very great. Their Power is despotick; and owned so, even by their greatest Subjects; who will quietly lay down their Lives, at their bare Command; nay, think themselves bound by their Religion to do so. And yet, when driven to Extremity; and often when but slightly provoked do, like so many Brutes, fall on their Princes; strangle them; and set up others in their places. Which desperate Execution might have been prevented; if the Prince had ruled himself, attended to his Business, and governed his Subjects steadily, and yet gently: Instead of being shut up in his Seraglio; leading there an effeminate Life; and suffering his Favourites, Eunuchs or Concubines to hold the Reins of his Government; to drive unskilfully; and *Phaeton*-like, overturn

verturn the Chariot ; which, by the Fall, is often, broken in pieces.

Cæsar's
Words.

De Bell.
Gall. l. 7.

Pt. 65. 7.

Joel. 2. 25.

The Au-
thor's Cau-
tion to be i-
mitated.

Cæsar, one of the greatest Captains, but also one of the greatest Usurpers that ever was ; has given an important *Memento* to all Princes ; tho' he writ the words upon another occasion. *Plerum-*

que, in summo periculo, timor misericordiam non recipit. Very often in extreme Danger, Fear does not admit of Mercy. Extremity does, generally, make People, not only inconsiderate and bold ; but even outrageous and barbarous both to themselves, and all about them. A Man had as good oppose a high overflowing Sea, as an enraged

Multitude. None but God can *still the raging* of the first, and *the madness of the People*. It is true, the Populace are *mad* when extremely provoked :

Wild Beasts if you will ; *Locusts* and *Caterpillars*, if you please. But still, as well as these, they may be God's *Army*. He may sometimes raise them, to punish wicked Princes ; and no where, in Scripture, universally disbands them. Therefore, a wise Prince will consider these things ; and think that he can never be too cautious, not to provoke God, his supreme King, to send such desperate Volunteers against him : Especially when they are, themselves, provoked, and driven to Despair.

I have now said, all which I had to say, on this difficult and nice Subject. And, as a coasting Pilot, I have, all along, rowed close by the Shore, and safe ; in this dangerous Sea ; in this unpassable Gulph ; in which so many daring Sailors have been foundered, and have lost their Ships. And this I have done, by keeping close to the Scripture ; and going no farther than it directs. And if Princes and Subjects, would keep yet farther off ; not touch the very Shore at all, but stand at a distance, on dry and firm Ground. The first, by not stretching, on all occasions, their Prerogative,

gative, to the utmost Point. The second, by not being over tender, of their Property in all Cases. Both, by being willing to allow something to extraordinary Occurrences; and by considering, that such is the Condition of human Affairs in this World, that it never can pretend to Perfection; but must be contented to stoop sometimes to Exigences; and to admit of Changes, Losses, and Detriments. Then there would be room about this Whirlpool of Politicks: Men might walk safe round it, and look on it, without fear. And as long as both sides kept carefully at a distance; there could not be the least danger of their meeting in the midst of it, to come to blows; and of being, often, like to be both drowned. Peace and Quiet would be the Event: Glory and Honour would be the Lot of Princes: Plenty and Ease, the Portion of Subjects.

But because this Advice, tho' very wholesom *We must* and reasonable, is not always followed. But Sub-*pray for* jects will disturb themselves with imaginary *Peace.* Fears and Jealousies; and take that for Oppression and Invasion of Property, which is the bare Constraint and Necessity of Times: or will be deluded by Sophisters and pretended Patriots; who talk of Dangers, where there are none; and seem to whisper Safety to the People, when they proclaim Destruction; and to have the common Good in view, when they aim at nothing, but raising themselves in the publick Confusions. And some mistaken Princes will wind up their Power too high, and act, as if they were God Almighty, whose Power no Creature was able to resist: And others hearken to Favourites and Flatterers; seeming Friends, but the most dangerous Enemies; aiming in appearance at the Honour of the Prince; when their real Design, is to gain by his Faults, and Mistakes. In such Cases, where Reason, and Argument, cannot be heard; there is yet one means

means behind, the most powerful of any. We may, and ought to pray, for Peace, both Private and Publick: And God Almighty, the only Ruler, both of Princes, and People, will hear us in his good time.

I shall therefore conclude this Discourse, with one of the Collects of our Church, in her *Common Prayer-Book*; the Foolishness of which is wiser than the wisest *Extempore-Prayers*; and the Weakness of which is stronger, than their pretended greatest Strength. It is the Collect for the Fifth Sunday after Trinity. Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that the course of this World, may be so peaceably ordered by thy Governance; that thy Church may joyfully serve thee, in all godly Quietness: through Jesus Christ our Lord. And let all Christian Princes, and all Christian Subjects say, *Amen.*

Give Peace in our Time, O Lord.



FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAGE 5. Line 12. read *stinted*. P. 27. l. 5. r. *Cafe* Ibid. l. 26. r. *thinks most* P. 35. l. 31. r. *For, God* P. 42. l. 14. r. *about the bounds* P. 44. l. 24. r. *Duty, are* P. 45. l. 1. r. *Government?* Ibid. l. 6. r. *Subjects?* P. 48. l. 1. r. *Magistrates,* P. 49. l. 35. r. *Government* P. 78. l. 14. f. *we r. would* P. 82. l. 22. r. *that, to* P. 84. l. 12. r. *stand;* P. 86. l. 21. r. *self-tormenters,* P. 89. l. 2. r. *contented* P. 90. l. 2. r. *Pf. 82. 1, 6.* Ibid. l. 3. r. *pture)* desire that P. 93. l. 19. r. *Law* P. 96. l. 38. r. *Abbeys*

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